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QUAKERISM AND FOREIGN POLICY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A RELATIONSHIP

By ROBERT O. BYRD*

Friends' Peace Testimony did not spring full blown from the mental and spiritual labors of early Friends, thence to be enshrined as a relic to be received and revered by succeeding generations of Friends.[1] The Peace Testimony has been in a state of flux over the years. It is the purpose of the present paper to describe some aspects of this development. For convenience in discussion, the evolution of the Peace Testimony has been divided into six periods, each period marking a change in emphasis from

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[1] The problem of determining what is and what is not to be considered characteristic of Quakerism is difficult. The problem cannot be discussed at length here. Suffice it to note that for the purposes of this paper Quakerism has been defined as that body of beliefs and practices which have had persistence and staying power in the Society and observance of which has led people into a closer identification with the Society, rather than away from it.

periods which preceded or follow. Particular dates chosen in delimiting these periods will have relatively little significance. In most cases, a few years one way or the other would serve quite as well.

1

Winning the Right to Differ (1647-1691)

The first generation of Quakers, those living in the period bounded by the beginning of George Fox's ministry and his death, were revolutionaries. Their emphasis was on developing and maintaining a vigor and clarity of belief within their own ranks, increasing the number of adherents to "the cause," and unceasing opposition to those elements in society making difficult the acceptance, practice, and extension of their beliefs.

Two of the major themes running through the Quaker relationship to foreign policy have their origins in this earliest period of Quaker history. First, Friends even then felt a direct, personal responsibility for affairs beyond the borders of their own country, and, secondly, Friends were convinced that the relationships of nations both could and should be Christianized. Indeed, it was held that it was only through the Christianizing of individual lives that domestic and international relations would become more pacific.

In practice these convictions meant two things in particular.

First, Friends were to exhort their fellow men to live a Christian life, both their compatriots and those who lived abroad. Letters and deputations were dispatched to the various rulers of the earth. Fox, Penn, and other Friends called on Cromwell, Charles II, and James II on various occasions, and vigorous letters and embassies were dispatched to more distant rulers, including the Emperors of China and Russia, "To the Turk" and "To the Pope in Rome," urging them to embody Christian principles in their personal lives and public policies. Letters of advice were also sent to the ambassadors gathered in 1678 to conclude the Peace of Nimeguen.

But precept was not enough. Examples were needed. To this end Friends endeavored to relieve the sufferings of those under persecution, Friend and non-Friend alike, though relieving the suffering within their own Society necessarily engaged most of their attention during this period. Friends established colonies in

America in an effort to demonstrate to the world that it was possible to enshrine Christian principles in public policy. Such experiments were set up in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and Friends were also acting out their beliefs in North Carolina, Rhode Island, and Barbados. These efforts were distinguished by a revolutionary practice of toleration for all religious beliefs and the treatment of Indians as responsible human beings, even to the point of admitting them to jury service for awhile in Pennsylvania.

Secondly, Friends eschewed the use of "carnal weapons" as instruments to be used in the pursuit of spiritual, religious, or even political ends. It was in 1660, just eight years after the Quaker movement took definite form, that George Fox and Richard Hubberthorne formulated the earliest of the Society's corporate statements concerning the use of armed coercion. The heart of this statement proclaimed: "All bloody principles we as to our own particular do utterly deny, with all outward wars and strifes and fightings with outward weapons for any end or any pretense whatsoever. . . ."[2]

This opposition to assuming the "postures of war," as Fox called them,[3] was not formally adopted by Friends. It simply appeared on the scene, a natural outgrowth of Friends' principles, as one individual Friend after another came to the conclusion that military measures did not fit into the pattern of life required by an awareness of the Light Within. A rejection of armed service was seen as the natural consequence of a growth and maturing of the spiritual life. When such men as Thomas Lurting and Richard Sellers made their individual decision to eschew the military way, they set in motion events that rival the most vivid adventure yarns, replete with pirates, shipwreck, brutal beatings, quarterdeck courts-martial, and narrow escapes from more impromptu hangings from yardarms.

Friends were also clear that this "wear-your-sword-as-long-as-you-can" attitude applied to public officials as well as to private citizens. Robert Barclay wrote:

As to what relates to the present magistrates of the Christian world,

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[2] George Fox, *Journal,* ed. Norman Penney, Everyman's Library Edition (New York, 1924), pp. 193-196.

[3] Ibid., p. 187.

> . . . they have not come into the pure dispensation of the gospel. . . . While they are in that condition, we shall not say that war, undertaken upon just occasion, is altogether unlawful to them. . . . So the present confessors of the Christian name, who are yet in the mixture, and not in the patient suffering spirit, are not yet fitted for this form of Christianity, and therefore cannot be undefending themselves until they attain that perfection.[4]

Barclay, and Friends generally, felt a responsibility to urge magistrates to this greater perfection. Friends anticipated the possibility of bringing this Christianizing process to fruition at an early moment and were eager to hasten that moment's arrival.

But interest in international affairs was not a central concern in this or in subsequent periods. It developed only as a necessary corollary to a way of life centered on the experience of the Inward Light. The position Barclay gives his discussion of international relations in the *Apology* is instructive. He places it at the very end of the work under the miscellaneous heading "Of Salutations and Recreations."[5]

2

The Protection and Enjoyment of the Right to Differ (1691-1775)

Two events of crucial importance in the history of Quakerism took place within two years of each other. The Act of Toleration was passed in 1689; George Fox died in 1691. These events were instrumental in bringing to a close the period when Friends could be characterized by revolutionary fervor and enthusiasm. Friends were now "tolerated" along with other nonconformist groups, and Friends' efforts were directed toward protecting this privilege, to proving that they deserved toleration and that they were good citizens in spite of their "peculiar" ways. The tenor of the new era finds clear expression in the Epistle of London Yearly Meeting of 1705: "And since the Lord's good providence has so far blessed Friends as to give them favor with governments; it is desired that Friends would continue, with all humility, to walk worthy of the

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[4] *Barclay in Brief,* ed. Eleanore Price Mather (Wallingford, Pennsylvania, n.d.), p. 83 f.

[5] Robert Barclay, *Works* (Philadelphia, 1831), II, 557-568. The previously cited, and more readily available, Mather edition has been altered editorially at this point.

same, by a gentle and peaceable conversation towards all men, in their respective places of abode."[6]

Not only, however, were Friends' revolutionary zeal and enthusiasm dampened, but the zeal of the reaction was at hand. Much had been gained and there could be no equivocation toward those who, by their excesses or carelessness, would put these gains in jeopardy. The power of the Elders of the meetings increased, membership lists were drawn up, as were lists of things permitted and things denied to those who considered themselves members. The list of acts prescribed and proscribed increased in length and became increasingly inclusive. Violations were sins, and sins and sinners were denounced and disowned with equal vigor. Emphasis shifted from the positive to the negative, from the growth and nurture of new values to the protection of values already won. War now came to be seen as a positive evil, a sin, and not to be tolerated even during an interim period of growth and development. The anti-war position became an item of dogma, not the definition of a realizable ideal. A Friend was to have no part in war, was not even to talk about war unnecessarily, the Epistle of London Yearly Meeting for 1758 stated: "And dear Friends . . . let it be our steady concern to demonstrate . . . to the world that . . . we are called out of wars and fightings, so let them be as seldom as possible the subjects of your conversations. . . ."[7]

Relief work was increased, particularly among non-Friends, as Friends had fewer sufferings of their own following their "toleration," and because Friends' peaceableness, diligence, and careful stewardship in business affairs eventually caused them to prosper in this world's goods, giving them the means to carry out relief programs. Wars, the "postures of war," "carnal weapons," and the rejoicings or mournings arising out of victories won or defeats suffered through the use of carnal weapons, the slave trade, piracy —individually initiated or officially sanctioned in the form of "privateering"—and smuggling were all practices Friends deplored and regarded as having no place in the lives of individuals, religious societies, or nations.

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[6] *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in London: 1681-1857* (London, 1858), I, 112.

[7] Ibid., I, 307.

The concern for peace was not only displayed in opposition to war, however. Friends did notable work in creating the conditions of peace, especially in America through the "Friendly Association for Gaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures." Too, individual Friends, such as William Penn and John Bellers, developed carefully considered plans for creating international organizations to keep the peace. Epistles and deputations to men "in high places" in government continued to be dispatched, as in the case of the messages sent to those who gathered to conclude the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, but these expressions became less frequent and tended to become routine statements of positions which were becoming traditional.

Friends now felt that they could be of the greatest usefulness by keeping their own testimonies inviolate, by providing a quiet example for the world to follow. They hoped to influence the course of political events by preserving in the life of the Society a clear example of the way of life which governments might later be encouraged to emulate. Friends still maintained that governments and governmental policy could be Christianized, but this possibility seemed so remote that immediate efforts in that direction appeared irrelevant, except in the American colonies, where special conditions were thought to exist, and even there Friends withdrew from governmental affairs in 1756. Friends generally were cautioned against involvement in the compromises and deals surrounding the development and execution of public policy. The first-generation revolutionary's effort to universalize his beliefs immediately had been replaced by the second generation's effort to realize those beliefs in the limited area already won, an area from which those principles might later, and more slowly, attain wider acceptance. Missionary zeal and precept were replaced by the less disturbing and more "respectable" effort to provide in the life of the Society a pristine example for the rest of the world.

3
An Uneasiness that Something More is Needed (1775-1850)

There was no radical change in Friends' outlook toward international relations in this period. Extant international policy was seen as characterized by man's lust, greed, and sin. The solution

was seen to lie in the eventual Christianization of policy. The emphasis was still on keeping the Society and individual Friends free of the taint of "the world's commotions" in the hope that Friends could live lives which would become a pattern and an example to the rest of the world. In 1804 Friends were still being cautioned against making war the subject of their conversation, and in 1813 there was a plea for Friends to "keep out of even the spirit of contest, and strive for a dependence upon Him whose kingdom is not of this world."[8] The conception of war as being of the devil continued, as did disownment for individuals who became involved in efforts related to war. The slave trade and piracy were continuing points of opposition, though the emphasis now shifted from concern about private practice in these matters, as Friends now were themselves clear of these things, to concern about public policy.

There were, however, the stirrings of new developments.

This period saw the first open challenge to the Society's dogmatic non-participation-in-war position. This challenge came during the Revolutionary War when a group of Friends in Philadelphia broke away from the established meeting to form a meeting of Free Quakers, or Fighting Quakers. There were signs of other changes. Friends began to doubt both the wisdom and the morality of remaining aloof from foreign policy as they had in the preceding period. One of the earlier signs of this difference can be seen in the London Yearly Meeting Epistle for 1776, which had the revolutionary developments in America very much in mind: "It is worthy of the serious consideration of all, whether the calamities now deeply affecting this great empire may not have been permitted by Divine Providence in displeasure on account of the accumulated transgressions of his people: let all, therefore, honestly and strictly inquire how far they have individually contributed thereto."[9] Here is an important shift in emphasis. Friends began to wonder if their pristine aloofness from the world's sins was either very pristine or very aloof.

At first this new emphasis seems to have led to a quickening of Friends' awareness of and opposition to things which con-

[8] Ibid., II, 164.
[9] Ibid., II, 29.

tributed to war efforts. The issue of paying taxes when a proportion of those taxes went for the support of wars now became acute, as did the concern that Friends keep themselves clear of businesses which made a profit out of war. The Society felt itself embarrassed by Friends who were making considerable wealth out of provisioning the armed services. There was, thus, an inclination to push back further and make more firm the line between those enterprises permitted to Friends and those prohibited because they were too closely connected with "the military way." While the Society as a whole was slow to undertake new and more positive efforts directed toward creating the conditions of peace, increasingly individual Friends were responding to concerns of this nature. David Barclay and John Fothergill had been active as go-betweens in an effort to forestall the War of the American Revolution. William Allen was largely responsible for founding the Peace Society in England. Allen was also active at the Congress of Verona in 1822 in an effort to get the slave trade declared piracy, and it was largely his concern that led Friends to undertake a war-relief program to the Greeks in the late 1820's, the first of the Quaker relief programs to victims of wars and revolutions when there were no Friends among the sufferers. Friends encouraged Daniel Wheeler's reclamation project in Russia and gave Joseph John Gurney a minute of unity when he went on his travels to the West Indies and the United States in pursuit of his interest in the condition of the Indians and the abolition of the slave trade. It was not easy for individual Friends to engage in this type of activity. Friends were at first reluctant to permit members of the Society to undertake such activities, especially when "in the mixture" with non-Friends. It was thought best for Friends to "remain quiet in the land." Resistance gradually relaxed, however, even to the point of seeing the first Friends, Joseph Pease and John Bright, take their seats in Parliament.

While moving slowly, the Society as a whole was not unaffected by this concern to play a more immediate, direct, and positive role in creating the conditions of peace and finding alternatives to war as the means of solving international conflicts. It was in the course of the Oregon boundary dispute between the United States and England that the Society issued its first specific recommendation concerning the manner in which peace might be established in a

particular conflict situation. In this case the answer was arbitration. London Yearly Meeting Epistle for 1846 noted:

> We rejoice in the belief that a correct appreciation of the peaceable principles of the Gospel of Christ is spreading in our own and in other lands. We hail, as a symptom of this enlightened view, many instances of later years, in which disputes between nations have been settled by arbitration, and not by the anti-Christian practice of war. May a sense of the wisdom and true policy of arbitration increase, until it shall become the ultimate rule for the determination of such differences.[10]

4

From the General to the Particular (1850-1914)

The years from 1850 until the outbreak of the First World War may be characterized briefly as years during which Friends' interest and involvement in international affairs became more specific and more inclusive. Concerns which were but concerns of a few individual Friends in the previous period now became concerns of the Society as a whole. Policy recommendations were more positive as the period progressed. These also were the years during which standing committees were first established to assist in the implementation of Friends' international programs.

These developments reflected basic changes in the outlook of the Society, changes marking a clear break with the Society's quietism of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and a return to the basic position the Society had vacated with the advent of "toleration" in the last decades of the seventeenth century. The Society collectively recommitted itself to involvement in and a responsibility for public affairs, domestic and international. There was a marked resurgence of the evangelical stream in the Society's tradition, a stream that had all but disappeared following the revolutionary period in the Society's history. Missionary programs were undertaken and Friends became less exclusive, seeing themselves again as a movement rather than a sect guarding a gossamer tradition. Disownment figures declined steadily during the period.

That quietism now all but disappeared in the Society is to be seen in the greater scope of Friends' involvement in international affairs. Standing Peace Committees took the place of *ad hoc* committees appointed to deal with particular situations. London Yearly

[10] Ibid., II, 333.

Meeting minuted its "plea on behalf of liberty of conscience" and appointed two deputations to carry the message to heads of state and others of influence in Europe from Russia to Spain. Scarcely an event of international import passed without Quaker commentary: the Czar's freeing of the serfs in Russia, the Sepoy rebellion in India, arbitration of Venezuelan boundary disputes, were among the subjects on which Friends expressed themselves.

Friends now became more positive in their outlook, less convinced that the Society's cherished traditions would be compromised by "action in the mixture" with the world's people. Thus a deputation was sent to Russia on the eve of the Crimean War in the hope that way might be opened for an amicable settlement. There was an increasingly vigorous advocacy of arbitration as a means of settling international disputes. Friends on both sides of the Atlantic were among the prime movers behind the effort to enact a treaty of general arbitration between the United States and Great Britain.

The positive emphasis in the new era also led Friends to concern themselves with more specific causes of war than "the lusts of men." The opium traffic, slavery, and an increasing reliance on "carnal weapons" were opposed now not only because they were themselves evil, but also because they were seen as causes of war. The fundamental cause of war was still seen to lie, however, "in the hearts and minds of men," to borrow non-Quaker phraseology of a later era. Friends therefore undertook to reach the minds of men, through poster and oratorical contests, the provision of study courses, and the services of lecture bureaus, among other means. Scholarly efforts were also encouraged, such as Joshua Rowntree's *Imperial Drug Trade* and William I. Hull's studies of the two Hague Peace Conferences. Reflecting the general nineteenth-century tendency to "democratize" foreign policy, these efforts were now directed to the "man on the street," not only to the foreign-policy elites of the embassies and chancelleries.

An almost constant stream of relief programs was now maintained, in Finland, Russia, France, in the United States of the Civil War period, and elsewhere. These efforts were now seen as channels through which reconciling influences might be released and not merely a means of patching up the wounds of war, revolution, and tyranny. In order that these reconciling purposes might be

served it now became important for Quaker administrative personnel to go along with relief supplies to help express the motivation behind the effort. The post-Crimean-War relief program in Finland, then a Grand Duchy of Russia, was the first program in which Quaker relief was accompanied by Quaker personnel, with the exception of situations in which, as in the case of British Quaker relief during the American Revolutionary War, local Quakers assisted with the distribution of relief funds or supplies.

As international concerns became more positive, they also became more specific. When the period opened, Friends were distributing statements about such general subjects as the duties of a Christian people toward "those less civilized and enlightened." When the period closed, one Friends Meeting had just drawn up a suggested agenda for the Third Hague Peace Conference, scheduled for 1914 but cancelled by the outbreak of World War I. Friends' general opposition to reliance on "carnal weapons" developed into specific disarmament proposals, disarmament thus joining arbitration to form the twin pillars of Quaker foreign-policy proposals.

One result of the development of more specific proposals in international affairs was the emergence of differences in the points of view of British and American Friends. As long as Friends concerned themselves with general principles, British and American Friends were in agreement, but when specific positions were taken, important differences in emphasis arose from the differences in national background, and these differences were not always discussed in a spirit of harmony. Americans, and thus American Friends, were involved in the absorbing problems of developing a huge new country, in the internal conflict over slavery, and, in general, were more concerned with domestic issues. The British, and British Friends, were living through the rapid overseas expansion of the latter half of the nineteenth century. As a result, British Friends were more involved in international issues than were their coreligionists in America. Their situation made it easier for American Friends to condemn colonialism out of hand, while British Friends were more concerned with Britain's responsibilities toward those over whom she had assumed authority. British Friends, on the other hand, were inclined to advocate more sweeping antislavery measures than were American Friends.

5

From Sins to Problems (1914-1945)

There are no sharp breaks between this period and the period which preceded it. Trends which had made their appearance by the late nineteenth century continued. The development of these trends went forward, however, at a quicker pace, and distances traveled brought Friends to new positions with respect to foreign policy.

The first change to be remarked is a change in Friends' view concerning the nature of international relations. More than a hundred years earlier, Friends had begun to move away from the negative, moralistic attitude toward international relations which had set in around 1690. Important elements of this moralism survived until World War I. As the period embracing the two World Wars progressed, however, this moralism slipped further and further into the background. Condemnation of "war makers" was replaced by a sense of sorrow, regret, and disappointment that the nations of the world had not been able to solve the problem of war. Officials who found themselves caught up in a war effort were no longer viewed as necessarily evil men using war for their own purposes, and the disownment of members for being "too much in a military way" virtually ceased. As in the opening period of Quaker history, the "wearing of the sword" was again seen as a necessary and moral position for those who had not yet attained a state of spirit in which war would for them become both unnecessary and impossible. Thus the abolition of war again became a problem of maturation rather than exegesis. Evidence of this development is seen in Friends' refusal to support constitutional amendments in the United States which would have outlawed war or made it virtually impossible to wage war. Though weighty opinion in the Society supported these amendments, the Society as a whole could not feel it right to refuse people the right to use the sword when such people were unable to place their confidence in anything but the power of the sword.

Friends, however, did not change their view that war was wrong and not a proper solution to any problem of domestic or international relations. War was now seen as a problem to be solved and not simply a sin to be flayed. The solution was seen to

lie in increasing the sense of unity and common destiny among all men and strengthening the instrumentalities of co-operation and organization, both public and private. Friends, acting on these conclusions, developed their own instrumentalities of co-operation, in 1920 and 1937 holding the first and second World Conferences of Friends. Also, a system of Quaker embassies was established around the world to serve as channels of information to Friends back home and to the peoples among whom these embassies were placed. The embassies were also centers from which service projects of various kinds were launched. The Service Committees now attained a permanent status, though they were not at first intended to be permanent, and full-time salaried appointments were made to these committees, resulting in the development of a core of specialists in international relations. With the development of these specialists and with their increasing involvement in international relations, Friends no longer sat in the stands overlooking the international arena, turning thumbs up or thumbs down on the passing scene.

With increasing frequency Friends put forward their own proposals with respect to the proper course which public policy should take. Rather than confine their efforts to approving the idea of disarmament and the calling of disarmament conferences as they occurred, for instance, Friends now took the initiative in urging the specific necessity of such a conference as the logical sequel to the signing of the Kellogg-Briand pact in 1928. Friends also put forward their own plans for ameliorating the tense situation in the Far East in the early Nineteen Thirties. In 1915 a committee was appointed to study the underlying causes of the 1914-1918 war and to develop a statement of the principles which should underlie negotiations leading to the final peace settlement. In addition, Friends undertook to do, on a small scale, those things which they encouraged government to do as a matter of public policy. Opposing the food blockade of Germany both during and after World War I, Friends undertook food-relief programs as soon as they could get the necessary permits, and, following the onset of the more severe phase of anti-Semitism in Germany under Hitler, Friends went directly to Hitler to arrange for the emigration of persecuted Jews while at the same time encouraging their home governments to establish more extensive public programs directed

toward relieving the suffering of those who were under Nazi persecution.

The policy positions Friends took now became ever more specific. They not only opposed reliance on military tools of foreign policy, they opposed the selling of munitions and the granting of financial credits to belligerents and even to a potential belligerent, in the case of American Friends' opposition to the sale of military planes to Britain in 1936. Friends were not only opposed to war and in favor of negotiation, arbitration, and disarmament as alternatives to war; they now spelled out the content of proposals which they felt should be put forward in these areas. They not only favored the strengthening of the international community, but spelled out the things which they felt would strengthen and the things which they felt would weaken that community: thus, they favored the Kellogg-Briand pact and other efforts to strengthen the international legal order and they favored a free flow of persons, ideas, and commerce across international boundaries, even during the isolationism and high-tariffism of the Nineteen Twenties and Nineteen Thirties. They were, of course, in favor of the League of Nations idea, though many were opposed to the compulsory provisions of the League, as weak as those provisions were. Friends were also vigorously opposed to such specific measures as the Oriental Exclusion Act, extraterritorial privileges in Africa and the Orient for the Western powers, and the slowness with which the reins of imperialism were loosened in India and the Philippines.

The increasing specificity of Friends' international activities now led, at first, to a sharpening of differences among Friends of varied national backgrounds. The combined relief work in France after World War I brought Friends many trying moments, almost wrecking the project on occasion. As the period progressed, Friends learned to recognize and work with each others' differences, developing an awareness of the places and types of projects which could best be undertaken jointly and those for which it would be best to allow the different groups to assume separate responsibility.

6

From Observer to Participant (1945-)

There would appear to have been no abrupt change between the Quakerism of the two World Wars and contemporary Quakerism. Friends' relationship to foreign policy continues to be characterized by increased involvement, continuity, initiative, specificity, and emphasis on the demonstration, or pilot-project, approach where that has been feasible. However, while developments have been in the same direction, certain further mileposts have been reached.

During the period of the World Wars, as noted previously, Friends moved closer to the centers of foreign-policy formulation. In some cases they became responsible for the implementation of public policy. Relief work undertaken under the American Relief Administration and the system of alternative service to military training were cases in point. These programs, however, were more concerned with the by-products of foreign policy than with foreign policies themselves. After 1945 Friends became more directly involved in foreign policy proper. They were more systematic, and nearly professional, in producing pamphlets detailing approaches that should be taken to reduce international tensions. One news analyst of stature was even led to conclude that the job of negotiating a peace settlement in Korea should be turned over to the Quakers. More importantly, Friends became directly involved in the administration of international and foreign policies. Friends assumed responsibility for certain aspects of the UNESCO "Pilot Project" in basic education in Mexico and similar work in El Salvador. Friends were also asked by the United Nations to nominate one of their number as the Administrator, or Mayor, of an internationalized Jerusalem, though conditions developed at the last minute which made service impossible. With respect to more strictly national policy, Friends served as the agents of the United States government in the administration of "Point Four" funds.

As Friends' policy proposals have come to deal with more specific suggestions intended for immediate implementation, Friends have tended to become more concerned with the present results of their activities. At times this effort to attain immediate results appears, in the postwar period, to have led Friends to

support their policy suggestions by arguments that have an immediate appeal, even when such arguments would have little importance in Friends' own patterns of decision. The title of the major postwar disarmament study of American Friends, for instance, is *Toward Security Through Disarmament,* though security has not been a central aim of Quaker policy nor considered a proper criterion for Quaker judgment.

The post-1945 period has seen the maturing of another trend, one which first became discernible in the mid-nineteenth century: the tendency to specialize the formulation and implementation of the Society's international concerns. With the arrival of the post-1945 period, the special committees and full-time salaried employees appointed during the previous periods had accumulated a background of experience and knowledge that had made them experts, recognized as such within and outside of the Society of Friends. One such individual was asked by the United Nations to serve as an associate to the United Nations mediator charged with the effort to resolve the Kashmir dispute. Within the Society, Friends have shown a tendency to turn to their legislative and international-affairs experts to be told what their attitudes should be toward such things as the Stockholm Peace Petition and the United Nations "police action" in Korea.

Comment in Summary

Certain over-all trends emerge from this chronicle of the three-hundred-year development of Friends' relationship to foreign policy.

First, Friends' primary interest has been in the underlying causes and forces at work in international affairs, or in Fox's phrase, in "taking away the occasions for war." It is interesting, however, to note changes in Friends' thinking with respect to what they have felt these underlying occasions or causes to be. Initially, the cause was seen to be a simple lack of Christianity; Friends' remedy was then to remind those in authority of their Christian responsibilities. A dimmer view of the possibility of Christianizing public policy then set in, and the remedy was to withdraw from active participation in public affairs in order to maintain, in the life of the Society of Friends at least, a bastion which the forces of evil could not penetrate and from which, in God's good time,

Christian principles might go forth to control the world's affairs. Finally, there has been a gradual return to an emphasis on the immediate applicability of Christian principles to public policy. These principles came to be seen, however, as no monopoly of Christianity, and as principles which are not only expressed in the lives of individuals but also in social, economic, and political institutions.

Secondly, as Friends have faced the social, economic, and political problems inherent in "Christianizing" foreign policy, they have been drawn steadily closer to involvement at the centers of the decision-making process. At first, Friends preached principles, and, insofar as possible, practiced these principles in their own lives. They commented, usually unfavorably, on the passing scene as it unfolded before them. They later became dissatisfied with this negativism and began to urge governments to take positive action in certain general directions: toward arbitration and disarmament. But as time went on, these generalities were felt to be insufficient and Friends became more specific, describing in increasing detail what they felt public policy should be and suggesting the steps by which such policy might be implemented. Moreover, they began to put these policies into effect themselves in such matters as improving the channels of international negotiation and communication, in reconstruction and relief work, and, ultimately, by serving as the agents of public policy at points where such policies have been in accord with what Friends understand their religious insights to require of them.

Finally, concentrating at first on kings, rulers, and others in "high places," Friends gradually included the general public in their efforts to influence the shape of foreign policy when the evolution of democracy resulted in public opinion having a more direct impact on international affairs. Thus while continuing their efforts with those in authority, Friends came to sponsor extensive programs of public education as well.

In brief, Friends have never deviated from a conviction that all international coercion is wrong. Over the last two hundred years, however, Friends have become less dogmatic and moralistic in their outlook, less concerned with the negation of war, and more concerned with building peace. This building process has neces-

sitated increasing involvement in the detailed problems of foreign policy. This concern with foreign policy and with war as a problem rather than a sin would appear to describe a circular development; contemporary Friends have returned to a position characteristic of the generation of Fox, Penn, Lurting, and Mary Fisher, a position abandoned by the Society following the Act of Toleration and the assumption of leadership by the second generation. In the contemporary world, however, increased concern for foreign policy has led Friends to a degree of specialization and even professionalization that early Friends would have found strange. Moreover, involvement in the details of foreign policy and specialization has brought concern for efficiency and results which early Friends would also have found strange. They would have feared the temptation to "outrun our Guide" and perhaps even to "dissemble."

JOHN CANDLER'S VISIT TO AMERICA, 1850

Edited by JOSEPH A. BOROMÉ*

The abolition of slavery in the British West Indies was the culmination of a four-decade struggle intermittently waged but fiercely fought. Equally significant, though anti-climactic and scarcely as dramatic, was the fall in 1838 of the apprenticeship system, adopted by all the colonies save Bermuda and Antigua to aid in the transition from slavery to freedom. Henceforth the planters, buffeted by empire winds of laissez-faire doctrines, and the ex-slaves, with barely five years of questionable free-labor experience, were to be thrown largely upon their own resources.

Surely the West Indies had entered upon a critical period in their history. In the minds of political economists, students of society, and humanitarians innumerable questions arose. What was the future of the islands? What relations would exist between the employing and the laboring classes? Would freed Negroes prove more dependable laborers than had slaves or apprentices? Would British West-India developments hasten the disappearance of slavery in the neighboring Dutch, French, and Spanish colonies—and in the United States? Or, contrariwise, would they arm defenders of the institution with additional arguments for its continuance? Was anything being done to prepare slaves in the islands where slavery still existed for eventual freedom?

During the eighteen-thirties, eighteen-forties, and eighteen-fifties, several Britishers crossed the ocean to survey the islands at first hand. Some of these seekers-after-answers returned home more pessimistic and others more hopeful than they had come. Among their number, which included members of the Society of Friends, few were as indefatigable as John Candler.

John Candler was born in Great Bardfield, Essex, on 10 April 1787, the son of Elizabeth and William Candler, a schoolmaster. His father removed to Ipswich, where, about 1799, he

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resigned his school. John, aged thirteen, was apprenticed in a linen drapery business owned by a Quaker of the town. Though his formal education was thus terminated, he diligently applied his leisure hours to self-study. His parents, deeply religious people, had inspired him with a love of Scripture and an appreciation of the spiritual values of life. And in his pursuit of learning John included Greek and Hebrew that he might be able to read the Holy Writ in its original languages.

Once he had acquired sufficient working experience, Candler set out for Chelmsford. Here he opened a drapery shop with a partner. Fortune brought him a steady profit. He soon married Maria Knight of the town, continued reading widely, began writing on biblical and philanthropic subjects for publication, and took to giving weekly lessons on the Bible in a Friends School for girls. About 1813 he first spoke in the ministry in Chelmsford Meeting, and about 1819 established the Chelmsford Auxiliary Bible Society, of which he would remain secretary for some fifty years.

Maria Candler was much given to charitable endeavors, and Candler's own efforts to rise had made him most sympathetic to those in need of uplift. When, therefore, he had accumulated enough money to enjoy a comfortable income, he retired from business so that he might devote his full attention to the reform movements that included peace, temperance, education, criminology, and the abolition of slavery. His wife shared his sense of dedication.

In 1839 he set out on the first of four voyages that would take him to America. Great Britain had ended slavery and apprenticeship, and Candler, under the auspices of the Friends Meeting for Sufferings, went to look into the conditions of the Negroes in the West Indies. He visited more than a dozen islands, passed three months in Haiti, and traveled in the United States before regaining England in 1841. Shortly after his return, he was elected to succeed Thomas Allis as Superintendent of the Retreat, the Quaker mental hospital in York. He remained in that post for five years—until passage of the Lunacy Act of 1845 compelled the appointment of a medical man as head of the institution. When Dr. Thurnam took over in 1846, the Candlers returned to Chelmsford.

Candler was a tolerant and sensitive soul, who took rather a sunny view of life and people. No narrow sectarian, he had intimate friends in other religious denominations and rejoiced in the fact. A firm liberal, he deplored ultra-conservatism, and, as he was "not exempt from many of the infirmities of our fallen nature," he occasionally decapitated his critics with quiet phrases that left little room for inference.[1] Still, his extraordinary powers of comprehension and observation, his complete devotion to God and man, and his boundless energy made him much in demand. And so long as he was physically able, he met every demand unstintingly and cheerfully.

In 1849 he set sail for the West Indies as a representative of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, accompanied by his wife and by Catherine and George William Alexander.[2] After he had examined the economic and educational results of emancipation in the islands and the abuses suffered by the emancipated classes, he returned to England in 1850 *via* North America. In 1852 he was off on an antislavery mission to Portugal with Robert Were Fox and to Brazil with William Burgess. In 1853-1854 he was again in the United States on a similar mission. In 1856 he made religious trips to visit Quakers in various parts of England. In 1861 he went with John L. Eddy of America to visit Friends in France, and in 1862, at the age of seventy-five, joined Eddy in visiting Norway. Hardly had he returned from the land of the fjords, when a gradual decline in his physical powers set in. He came to experience increasing difficulty in speaking and suffered mental anguish in the fear that he should lose that ability altogether. On 4 July 1869, John Candler, a recorded minister for about twenty-seven years, breathed his last.

Some years ago, Lucy Candler of Tunbridge Wells presented the journal of Candler's second voyage to the Society of Friends

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[1] Quotation taken from *Extracts from the Minutes and Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in London . . . 1870* (London, n.d.), Appendix D, Testimonies concerning Deceased Friends, p. xx.

[2] When informed of his intention in October 1849, the Society of Friends generously appropriated £200 for his use, this being the balance of a subscription raised in 1838 "for African concerns." Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, 1849-1857, MS in Library of the Society of Friends, London, p. 54.

in London.[3] The selection which follows is of that portion relating to North America. It throws light upon such diverse subjects as the forty-niners, social welfare work by Friends in New York, Quaker settlements in Canada, and life in the Midwest. As it begins, Candler has left Kingston, Jamaica, bound for New York in the *Crescent City,* a 220-foot steam packet which plied between New York and Chagres "en route to California."

To New York

6th Month 18 [1850]. Thermometer 88°. At noon this day, we had run 152 miles since we left Kingston. Hayti in sight nearly all day, and at sun down, we were passing between Cuba on the west, and Hayti on the east, with the high land of both countries distinctly visible. Some flashes of lightning at night disclosed to view some very distant mountains of Hayti, which were no sooner seen than lost: the effect was singular and striking. Had much conversation with some of our fellow passengers from California and the isthmus of Panama. Several on board are returning from California with plenty of gold in their trunks, which they have acquired by hard labor; and under many severe privations, at the gold mines; others with gold acquired by trading and speculation; and not a few, weary, disgusted, sick and almost destitute. "The grave yards grow faster in California than the towns," said one of the returning wanderers to me. I asked him what induced him to go there, and having gone, why he returned so soon. He went, he said, hoping like many others, to get money and do himself

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[3] The Jamaica section of this journal, transcribed by the editor, will appear in a forthcoming issue of the Jamaica Historical Society *Review* as "A Good Friend in Our Midst, 1850."

The Friends House Library also contains such Candler manuscripts as a notebook of Memoranda and Letters 1839-1841 respecting Candler's American trip of that period. In addition to the published writings of Candler which are listed in Joseph Smith, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books* (London, 1867) mention must be made of the letters that he wrote from America in 1853 which were published by the Indiana Historical Society in 1951 with the title *A Friendly Mission.* Efforts by Muriel Hicks, Assistant Librarian at Friends House, to whom I am indebted for innumerable courtesies, and by myself to locate a considerable body of Candler papers have met with no success.

good, but he did not succeed as he expected, and seeing how badly the people conducted themselves he thought if he staid there, he should lose all moral principle, and become like the rest. It was wonderful he said, how soon the moral perceptions became deadened in such a society of adventures. He was himself a "Friend", a member of the Hicksite persuasion: he had been brought up to hate all war and aggression; but he thought that he could now shoot a man dead, without remorse, if he attempted to rob him of gold, or do him an irreparable injury. "On the First Day", I use his own words, "the people abandoned themselves to gambling and cockfighting". Both this individual and several others who are returning from California speak of the mines, and of mining, as a perfect lottery. Some people gather a great deal of gold in a short time and return home very rich; many obtain a moderate fortune; and a large number fall sick and die, or get reduced to poverty and destitution. One fine looking American farmer said to me: "I have learned one useful lesson by going to California, and that is, that my native home and native occupation are the best for me. I can be with my wife and children when my days work is done, and I have no doubt that farming in the long run, is more profitable than gold digging". Another of our fellow passengers tells me that he went from New York to Panama, and was so frightened at what he saw, and feared of sickness, if he went further, that he resolved at once to get back to his own home as quick as possible: he therefore engaged himself as a servant to three fellow Americans who had fallen sick and wished to return, and was now engaged in taking care of them on board. One of them who left New York to make money at the mines was worth, he said $20000, and was now a lunatic!

6th Month 19th. At sun rise this morning abreast of the Great Inagua, one of the Bahama islands; at noon we passed Mariguana, another island of the same group. Ran this day, from yesterday at noon, 210 miles. Many of our California Cabin passengers dress in a shirt and trousers, smoke cigars, and spit freely. One of them said to me, "I am a North Ohio man: we do every thing for ourselves in that country; we produce a great deal by hard labor, and we bid defiance to all the world".

6th Month 20. From noon to noon 217 miles. Thermometer 80°.

Rain & wind: kept below deck, chiefly in our berths, all day long. *6th Month 21st*. Weather moderated, with less motion of the ship; breakfasted at the Cabin table. The ship's run at noon was 256 miles.[4] Thermometer 80°. Had much conversation with some of our Californian passengers, another of whom I find to have been a member of our society at Lynn, Mass. He left Boston, sixteen months ago, with a band of forty seven fellow adventurers to go across the North West territory, from the head of the Missouri navigation to the Sacramento river in California. The estimated distance of travel from Boston to Missouri was 2300 miles, and from Missouri to the plains where gold is found, 2700 miles more, in all more than 5000 miles. They performed the journey, through many great hardships, and with excessive toil, in six months, having had to open a road of 150 miles through the Rocky mountains. Many of his fellow travellers died by the way, or from fatigue and sickness when they reached the diggings, amongst whom were his two friends. On leaving California to return home, he could trace only eight out of the original number of forty seven who were engaged in the work of gold-digging: the remainder were either dead or dispersed. He himself fell sick, and out of the gold he had found, he had paid $1500 to a physician for advice: this physician, he said, was kind and considerate compared with others, as he only charged him $8 a visit, instead of a doubloon (£3.6.8) which was the usual fee. He wished he had never gone, but had been content to take the advice of Samuel Boyce, a minister of Lynn meeting; he was a young man, he said, and young men refused counsel; but if he got safe home, he would never venture on such an expedition again. Another of these gold hunters found his way from New York to California by Vera Cruz, and through Mexico in 46 days: he was from Providence R. I. and had been fairly successful in his mining operations: in one week of his operations he had made $600. He had deposited his earnings in the bank of St [sic] Francisco to be repaid him in New York with an abatement of 7 per cent: he was now returning to Rhode Island to see his wife, and to persuade her to go back and settle with him in California, as an adopted home. He had avoided drinking, he said, and lived under a tent, and had not been sick. Many of these return passen-

[4] Candler's note: Total Run 835.

gers from the gold regions are sick on board our steamer; and may perhaps never reach their native home, although they are now so near it: they are ready, whilst displaying their little hoards of small bits of gold, to exclaim with Hassan the camel driver

> "O why was ruin so attractive made,
> Or why fond man so easily betrayed?
> Sad was the hour, and luckless was the day,
> When first from Schiraz walls I bent my way."

The cabins and decks of the "Crescent City" steamer afford a fine field for the study of human nature.

6 Month 22. At day break in the Gulf stream: thermometer 80° in the cabin. Looked in on the poor lunatic, and directed his attendant how to treat him; paid a brief visit to the two Spanish dwarfs, each of them about the size of Tom Thumb, and carried about like an infant in arms. Conversed with one of our sick passengers, who told me that he left New York for Panama en route for California: he was taken with fever in coming out: his head was wrapped in ice a whole day and night, and he thought he should become food for the sharks. At Chagres he remained helpless and resolved to return as he came, by the steamer. I asked him whether, if he got well at home, he should be willing to make a second attempt to reach the gold region? "Never again", he said. "I have seen enough. In my own country we saw only the bright side of the picture: all was gold, gold: agents from California wanting immigrants allured us with wonderful tales: merchants trading with that country encouraged the delusion: steam boat proprietors, and a crowd of interested people promoted it: but I have now seen something for myself and have conversed with many who have been at the mines: I shall stay at home, and never attempt to go again". A poor youth of seventeen years of age left Ohio with his uncle, the Lunatic, in order as he said "to see the world and to find a chance", but was struck with fever at Chagres: they set out from home, ten in company: one had died in Panama, five had gone forward by sea to Saint [sic] Francisco, and he and three others were returning; himself sick of fever, his uncle a lunatic, a third unwell, and the fourth selected to take care of them, because he was discouraged and heart sick and longed to get back again.

The crew of the Steamer, officers, seamen, engineers, and waiters are 72 in number, about twelve of whom are sick, and unable to lend a hand. The wages paid to the seamen on board are $18 a month, that is, about 20/. a week, with good board and slender work; they nevertheless often abscond; four of them left the ship at Chagres this trip, and are off for the Pacific and California. Many of our returning Californians are fine handsome young Americans disguised with long beards and rough dresses: they smoke, talk and spit with great self complacency and good humor, and such of them as have gold in their trunks seem well satisfied with the mode of life they have adopted. We have two brothers on board, who took out machinery to the mines and quicksilver: they gave employment to 70, and sometimes 80 men at the diggings, at wages varying from £30 to £40 sterling each man per month, with board at a common table under a long tent. "Although our outlay was often $17000 a month, our income from the operations was greater: we are going home to see our friends, and mean to return to California with new machinery and make it our adopted country". We have also on board a shrewd capable man of business, who left a situation as Banker's clerk with a salary of £300 per annum to try his fortune: he is so well satisfied with California that he came back to fetch his wife and family, to convey them there. "He can gain eight times as much there as in New York". At noon. Our run since yesterday is 257 miles. Latitude 34°.11″ Long. 73°.38″. Distance remaining 439 miles. The largest quantity of gold raised by *the two brothers* and cleaned by one machine in one day was 70 ounces worth in sterling money $225: this was performed by the labor of seven miners. The largest lump of gold they have heard of as being found in the country weighted 27 lbs, of which seven pounds weight was estimated as quartz, leaving of pure unalloyed gold 20 lbs, worth in English money £1000. Our fellow passengers, though Americans, are mostly opposed to slavery, and desire its overthrow.

6th Month 23. First Day. Held a religious meeting on the deck at 11 o'clock, which was attended by a considerable number of the passengers: portions of scripture were read, and the congregation was addressed. One passenger told me that one of the greatest privations he experienced in California was the absence of public

worship: he and some others of the company expressed gladness at our intended meeting. In the evening we descried the shores of New Jersey, and reached Sandy hook at midnight. Ran this day 263 miles.

6th Month 24th. A farther and last day's run of 128 miles brought us to New York, where we landed at 7 o'clock A.M. The total distance from Jamaica, according to the ship's computation is 1483 miles, which we performed in six days and a half. Received a kind and cordial welcome from our beloved friends, Mahlon Day and family.[5] We are now safely landed once more in the United States of America!

6th Month 25th. Richard Mott, "an old disciple", Richard Carpenter, Samuel Rhoads & Abm Pennock came this morning to Henry St. to breakfast, on their return homeward from New England Y Meeting.[6] It was delightful to us to be once more associated with our fellow members in religious society, at the social board and in family worship. Richard Mott addressed us encouragingly: a good beginning of a good and pleasant day. At one o'clock Geo Fox Hussey (who married Gertrude, a daughter of Robert I Murray) came with a carriage, and took us a drive of seven miles to Bloomingdale Lunatic Asylum, beautifully situated on rising ground between the Hudson & East rivers.[7] This admirable institution is under the management of Dr Nicholls, a mem-

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[5] Mahlon Day (1790-1854), printer and prominent member of the Society in New York. He served as Overseer and Elder. In 1839 he had accompanied Joseph John Gurney of England on a mission to the West India islands. In 1854 he sailed with Candler to England, accompanied by his daughter Susan Day, to meet his wife Mary Kerr Day, who had been visiting her relatives. The three Days lost their lives when the *Arctic,* on which they were returning, sank after colliding with another steamer off Newfoundland.

[6] Richard Mott (1767-1856) was a minister of Burlington, New Jersey. Richard Carpenter was Clerk of New York Yearly Meeting, 1851-1856. Samuel Rhoads (1806-1868) was one of the founders of the Philadelphia Free Produce Association and an editor, together with Abraham Pennock and George W. Taylor, of the *Non-Slaveholder.*

[7] Robert I. Murray (1786-1858) had entered the drug business at twenty-two and retired with a fortune in a few years. A director of the Bank of New York, he was Governor of the New York Hospital for forty-two years.

ber of our society, and is now appropriated to Patients of an upper class, of which there are now 115.[8] The payments made are from $3 to $10 a week, and the Institution is self supporting. There are ten Bath rooms, fitted up with minute conveniences, and 18 attendants. We then drove to the Colored Orphan Asylum, an institution commenced and brought to its present state of completeness, by our diligent, benevolent, persevering friends, Anna Shotwell, and Mary A Murray.[9] The buildings, plain, substantial, and neatly and economically furnished, contain 150 black and colored Orphans, who are boarded, lodged, and carefully instructed by a Superintendent, Matron and several assistants. We were greatly pleased with what we saw. We then proceeded to the house of Rob[t] I Murray, who was from house, to take tea and spend the evening with his amiable wife Hannah Murray and her children and sister.[10]

To Philadelphia

6[th] Month 26. David Sands MD called on us.[11] Attended the week day meeting at New York, where we met Sarah Hawkshurst, Eliz. Coggeshall, Deborah Hinsdale & Eliz Willis.[12] At one o'clock left for Philadelphia and arrived there at 1/2 past 7 o'clock, passing through New Jersey. The country much improved in cultivation since we saw it last. Samuel Rhoads & Richard Richardson met us at the river side and conducted us to the house of Josiah White

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[8] Charles Henry Nichols (1820-1889) was resident physician, 1849-1852.

[9] From its founding in 1836 by Anna H. Shotwell (1802-1875), aided by Mary Ann Murray (1815-1881)—daughter of Robert I. Murray and Elizabeth Colden Murray—until 1842, the Asylum was on 12th Street. After a fire in 1842, it was removed to Fifth Avenue between 43rd and 44th Streets.

[10] Hannah Murray, who died in 1877, was the second wife of Robert I. Murray. They had married in 1830.

[11] David Sands, who died in 1859 at the age of forty-five, was a wholesale druggist and the wealthiest Quaker of his time in New York.

[12] Sarah Hawxhurst (Hauxhurst) was no less prominent among New York Friends than Elizabeth Coggeshall, who was a highly esteemed minister. Deborah C. Hinsdale (1817-1889) married Dr. Richard H. Thomas of Baltimore in 1859. Elizabeth Willis was Clerk of the Women's Yearly Meeting in New York (20th Street) from 1839 to 1860.

where we met Anne Rhoads, Hannah Richardson & G W Taylor.[13]

To Washington

6 Month 27th By rail way to Baltimore, 100 miles: arrived there at 2 o'clock. D[r] Thomas met us at the station with two carriages and conveyed us to his house to dinner: feasted sumptuously on ice cream and strawberries.[14] At 5 o'clock left for the city of Washington, and repaired to Carter's boarding house on Capitol Hill.

6th Month 28th. We find ourselves seated at the same breakfast table with the following members of Congress.

Walter Underhill, Representative in the H of Assembly for New York[15]

J W Howe	do.	"	Pennsylvania
W[m] Henry	do.	"	Vermont
A H Sheppard [sic]	do.	"	North Carolina
A M Schermerhorn	do.	"	New York
T M[c]Kissock	do.	"	do.

Came on the 30th of 6th Mo. J Morton from Virginia. All these members are Whigs, or Conservatives. Our friend Walter Underhill conducted us this morning to the Capitol, and placed us on a good seat in the Senate house, where we listened for three hours to an animated debate on the admission of California to the union.

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[13] Richard Richardson, who had married Hannah White in 1841, was a leading Philadelphia Friend and a member of the Free Produce Association. Josiah White (1781-1850), founder in 1822 of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, was a pioneer in bringing industrialism to the Lehigh Valley. George W. Taylor ran a free produce store in Philadelphia in addition to a cotton mill in Chester County, but he also found time for magazine editorial work.

[14] Richard Henry Thomas (1805-1860) was a noted physician. His second wife, Phebe Clapp of New York was the mother of Dr. Richard Henry Thomas (1854-1904), and grandmother of Professor Allan Clapp Thomas of Haverford College.

[15] Walter Underhill was the only Quaker congressman from New York before the Civil War; he served from 1849 to 1851. He was responsible for Candler's witnessing a part of the historic congressional debates on the Compromise of 1850 — that "package program" which included a stronger fugitive slave law and the admission of California as a state with a constitution hostile to slavery.

The speakers were Jefferson Davis of Mississippi against the admission, P Soulé, a native of France from Louisiana, in a speech of good oratorical effect on the same side, S A Douglas of Illinois and Daniel Webster, in favor of it. The argument was mainly a legal one, and was disposed of by Webster in a calm manner by way of reply. There was much of dignity and good feeling in the debate. Henry Clay spoke a few words; and we noticed the two senators Foote and Benton, whose passionate conduct towards each other on the floor of the house, a few weeks since, drew down upon them its indignation and reproof.[16] Passing with W Underhill into the H of Representatives, he introduced me to Joshua Giddings, the Abolitionist member from Ohio, who invited me, to my surprise, to sit down by his side for private conversation. Surely this ought not to be allowed to any stranger in a deliberative assembly. Such a course is permitted in our H of C. but only below the bar. We all visited the Rotunda and the library.

6th Month 29. Our kind friend Walter Underhill & wife undertook to escort us to the White House and introduce us to the President, who came into the saloon, shook hands with us, and sat down.[17] They call him "Rough and ready": he was in appearance rough enough, being meanly dressed, but was frank in his demeanour. In reply to an observation of Mary Underhill's, who introduced us to his notice as having just come to America from the West Indies, and as friends to the slave, he said, "then they will have the opportunity of comparing the condition of the slave population here with what they have witnessed abroad: I am for colonisation: that is my principle; I should wish Congress to grant $10000 a year to send abroad all that are manumitted. I hope they will set about it as soon as we get out of our present difficulties". I remarked that in visiting our West Indian Colonies

[16] On April 17, 1850, Thomas Hart Benton, Senator from Missouri, took offense at a speech of Henry Stuart Foote of Mississippi. Benton pushed back his chair and strode toward Foote's seat. Foote ran to the secretary's table, drew out a revolver, and cocked it. When Benton, who was being led back to his seat by other senators, happened to notice the revolver, he flung the senators aside. Throwing open his coat and advancing on Foote, he dared him to fire. Foote was quickly disarmed and a smouldering Benton returned to his desk.

[17] Zachary Taylor had been elected to the presidency in 1848.

we had not found a single planter who would wish to return to the former system of slavery, even for gains' sake; that the results of emancipation were good and satisfactory. Here we rose from our seats, and took leave. Went again to the Senate, and listened to a long and angry speech from Gen[1] Houston of Texas against the government, and one of a similar character, as to substance, from General Cass.[18] The order of the day was then resumed, and the Senate was addressed by "honest John Davis" of Massachusetts against the compromise bill, as giving its sanction to the extension of slavery. Davis is said to be a bold uncompromising advocate of freedom, and a friend of Abolition. At a soiree in the evening at Doctor Bailey's, we met six members of Congress, three of each house.[19] There were present Senator J P Hale of New Hampshire, Senator T Corwen of Ohio, Senator S P Chase of Ohio, all Whigs, and Horace Mann, Representative from Massachusetts, Whig, Joshua Giddings from Ohio, do. and Charles Allen (also Whig) of Massachusetts.[20] These legislators are Anti Slavery men; it was stated to us that their number in both houses of Congress is now forty. Among the visitors was Frederica Bremmer the Swedish authoress and Grace Underwood [sic], an American poetess.[21] We passed a very pleasant and profitable evening, and returned home much gratified.

6 Mo 30. First Day. Held a meeting for worship at 11 o'clock at our boarding house, and were joined by William and Jane Pettitt of Philadelphia, Walter & Mary Underhill, and Mary Donaldson, late of Cincinnatti.

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[18] Samuel Houston was Senator from 1846-1859; Lewis Cass, Senator from Michigan, 1845-1848 and 1849-1857.

[19] Gamaliel Bailey (1807-1859) was editor of the *National Era,* the weekly periodical of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

[20] John Parker Hale served in the Senate from 1847 to 1853. Thomas Corwin was a Senator from 1845 to July 20, 1850, when he resigned to become Secretary of the Treasury. Salmon Portland Chase served from 1849 to 1855 and again in 1860. Horace Mann, the famous educator, was a congressman from 1848 to 1853. Charles Allen was elected to Congress by the Free Soil Party in 1849 and remained there until 1853.

[21] Among the works of Frederica Bremer was *Homes of the New World; Impressions of America* (1853). Sarah Jane Clarke Lippincott, better known as Grace Greenwood, was the author of *Greenwood Leaves* (1850).

7th Month 1st. Went to the Senate & the House of Representatives, observed their manner of transacting business and listened to two of their speakers, Toombs of Georgia, and Cooper of Pennsylvania, but heard nothing worthy of remembrance.[22] The American Legislators are said to be almost all speakers: they speak, too many of them, and too long: to use a phrase of their own, "they can talk the sun down", and I should say, the moon too; orations of four and five hours in length are quite common! In our evening walk on the common we met a respectable colored matron, and speaking to her kindly we asked her how the colored people were getting on? "Very hard, for colored people to get on here; our husbands are not allowed to work with white men any where except in a blacksmith's shop, and so few people will give them employment that we women have to support them and our children too: we take in washing, and so live. It is not God's doing to make this difference between those he has created: we do not charge it upon God; it is man's doing, and it is very *disencouraging*". We told her that we lamented such a state of things, and heartily wished the colored people well: she said with some emotion "It was a grand thing that there were some persons who could feel for them". Had some earnest talk with some members of Congress, particularly Tuck of New Hampshire, on the Slavery question.[23] Giddings and Tuck are right minded men, and so is Horace Mann. May the number of these moral heroes increase!

7th Month 2nd. Attended the House of Representatives and heard . . . of the members for Georgia, Stevens . . . on the Galfint [sic] claims; also the Senate, and heard Clay, Webster, Hale and others on the question of closing the session of Congress on a given day.[24]

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[22] Robert Augustus Toombs, Congressman, 1845-1853, was later Secretary of State in the Confederate Cabinet. James Cooper was a member of the Senate from 1849 to 1855.

[23] Amos Tuck served in the House, 1847-1853.

[24] Alexander Hamilton Stephens, later Vice-President of the Confederacy, sat in the House from 1843 to 1859. In the days of George III, before 1773, George Galphin had supplied goods to the Creek and Cherokee Indians. The claim, unpaid, passed through various hands. In 1849 the man who was attorney for the Galphin claimants and who was to receive one-half of the money paid for his services, was appointed Secretary of War. In 1849 the Treasury Department paid the principal and

Upham of Connecticut [sic] also spoke on the California question.[25]

7 *Mo. 3rd.* Made an interesting visit to the Patent Office or National museum, in which are exposed the results of the U S Exploring expedition: the corals are fine and numerous.[26] Here also are preserved some relics of Washington & Franklin, and the original declaration of Independence—a document worth going a long way to see. Repaired to the Senate. Houston spoke again on Texas affairs. John Bell of Tennessee spoke on the order of the day, the admission of California. The day was enlivened by an interlude of debate between the senator in possession of the floor, and Henry Clay.[27] Senator Seward, late Governor of the state of New York, came up into the gallery to introduce himself to us; and politely invited us to his house in Washington to spend a quiet evening.

7 *Month 4th. Day of Independence.* Nothing done in Congress.

7 *Month 5th.* John Bell of Tennessee resumed his wearisome address on the Compromise bill. I am weary of Washington and its windy debates, and begin to sigh for deliverance. Some of the American orators outrage all patience: they trouble all who hear them. Joshua Stanley of NC, son in law of Nathan Hunt called upon us: the good old man is yet alive and in pretty good health.[28] Grace Greenwood the poetess also called and Dr. Bailey, Editor of the "National Era". Walked in the grounds of the Capitol, and took a farewell of the statue of Washington, and of the beautiful buildings which adorn them.

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in 1850 the interest. The *Washington Union* denounced the affair on March 30, 1850. Congress conducted an investigation, which left more than one reputation rather under a cloud. President Taylor decided by July 3 to dismiss the entire cabinet, but he died within a few days.

[25] William Upham was actually Senator from Vermont, 1843-1853.

[26] This exploring expedition to the Antarctic islands of the Pacific and the northwest coast of America, 1838-1842, had been commanded by Charles Wilkes.

[27] John Bell, Senator from 1847 to 1859, spoke for two hours on this particular day; he yielded the floor after a clash with Clay, and left his speech unfinished.

[28] Nathan Hunt (1758-1853), preacher, pioneer in education, and an outspoken critic of slavery, was one of the most revered figures in North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Joshua Stanley was school superintendent at New Garden, North Carolina.

To Baltimore

7th *Month* 6th. Left Washington for Baltimore. Visited in the latter city the Hospital, the State Penitentiary and the Cemetery.

7th *Month* 7th. *First Day.* Dr. R H Thomas, our kind host, was too unwell to go with us to meeting, as also his wife: we were accompanied there by Phebe Clapp, their mother. About 80 or 90 friends were present in the morning and 50 friends in the afternoon. We spent the evening with Mary Ann Fowler and her daughter Elizabeth, in company with Eli Hayward and Jesse Tyson, son of Isaac Tyson. Clarissa Fussell, good woman, was at meeting, but did not preach: she must be a woman of a sorrowful spirit: she is the wife of a drunkard, and a mourner in Israel.

To Philadelphia

7th *Month* 8th. Called on Wm Procter, once of York, now nearly blind of a cataract in both eyes. Left Baltimore, in company with Dr. Thomas and his wife and her mother, by the Chesapeake Steam boat for Newcastle in Delaware: here we parted: they remained a night intending to go on to Cape May the next morning; we came forward by Steam boat on the river Delaware to Philadelphia and were again most hospitably received by Josiah White and family at 114 Arch Street.

7th *Month* 9th. Called on several friends in the city. At 4 o'clock P.M. Samuel Rhoads came to Arch Street with his carriage and took us all to his own house at Haddington, five miles from the city: here we rusticate in a delightful retirement and have much social enjoyment with dear friends of the right stamp.[29] Looking out from the piazza in the evening we watched the progress of a large fire in Philadelphia, which has destroyed, we are told, nearly two hundred houses. The President of the United States died this evening at 35 minutes past 10 o'clock at Washington.

7th *Month* 10th. Enjoying rest and tranquility in this sweet spot;

[29] This is doubtless an oblique reference to Quakers who were firmly antislavery and exhibited no racial bias. Following his visit to Philadelphia in 1843, Candler had criticized Friends there—and in print—on their racial attitudes. In 1850 the Elders of Arch Street Meeting refused him use of its rooms for a public meeting to report on his West Indies tour. It was held in Clarkson Hall on July 12.

surrounded by shrubs, trees, orchards and cultivated fields. Dined at the house of Abraham Pennock, and spent the remainder of the day, at another sweet spot, amidst a literary circle and among true friends.

7th Month 11th. Passed through a well cultivated district, rich in pastures and wood, to the Friends school at Haverford, under the superintendence of Lindley Murray Moore. After attending the Week day meeting for worship held at Haverford and the Monthly meeting which followed, we dined at the school house with sixty two pupils now under instruction there, and returned to Blockley to tea, where we met our kind and interesting old friend Israel Morris, and his daughter.

7th Month 12th. A quiet retired day in the country, such as we love and enjoy. At Philadelphia in the afternoon, and attended a meeting at Clarkson Hall of a hundred Friends, and other persons, to give information in regard to our West India colonies.

7 Month 13th. Visited the Depository of the Sunday School Union, a very useful institution, and was rejoiced to see the good it was doing: went also to the Hall of Independence in which the declaration of independence was signed. In the afternoon John Livezey called in his carriage and took Rebecca Collins, Maria and myself to the Pennsylvania Hospital, an asylum for the Insane, by far the completest building of the kind we have yet seen in any country. The house, the grounds, the management, are all admirable. We were conducted over the establishment by Dr. Kirkbride, the Superintendent, and two members of the committee.[30] This is a visit to be long remembered. Several friends met us in the evening at Josiah White's.

7th Month 14. First Day. Attended Arch St Meeting in the morning, and Twelfth Street meeting in the afternoon; we were joined by Isaac & Rebecca Collins at Dr. Pettits to tea, and called in the evening on Jane Joh[n]son, an Elder of Twelfth St meeting, and at Mary Ann Lloyd's where we paid a brief visit to her sick sister Bailey who has been an invalid about twenty years.

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[30] Thomas Story Kirkbride (1809-1883), Superintendent and physician-in-chief from 1840, so dominated the development of the Hospital for some forty years that it was often called "Kirkbride's" for short.

7th Month 15th. Spent the day at Isaac Collins' and were taken by him to the Colored Orphan Asylum, the Refuge for White children, the refuge for Colored Children, the State Penitentiary and Girard's college, as also to the Schulkyll [sic] water works. Called on Thomas Evans in the afternoon, and attended a meeting of Thomas Brainerd's congregation at his Lecture room in the evening to communicate information on the West Indies.

To New York

7 Month 16. Left Philadelphia and our very kind friends J & E White, and their daughters Hannah Richardson & Rebecca White: reached W^m^ Allinsons of Burlington at 9 o'clock A.M. and soon after repaired to the house of our much loved and honored friend Stephen Grellett with whom and his wife and daughter, and a few other friends who met us there, we passed a delightful morning.[31] The feeling of our hearts was that of Love, and under its influence our friend S G offered up prayer for us all, and thanksgiving to our Heavenly Father for all his mercies: his sister in law Susan Smith also addressed us ministerially in the language of love and encouragement. Dined at W^m^ Allinson's and were met after dinner by many of the Burlington friends to hear from us some account of our late friends: among these friends were dear old Richard Mott, John Griscom and Susan Smith.[32] Samuel Allinson came with us by the railway car to Borden town and a few miles farther onward.[33] Reached New York at 9 o'clock P.M and were again hospitably entertained at Mahlon Days.

7th Month 17th. At meeting in the morning at Orchard Street, in the evening at Elizabeth Willis' where we met several friends.

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[31] William James Allinson (1810-1874) was a prominent member of the Free Produce Association, who, though born in Philadelphia, lived mostly in Burlington. Stephen Grellet (1773-1855) was the well-known Quaker minister whose missionary activities for a period of some fifty years took him over almost all of Europe and the United States and into Canada.

[32] John Griscom (1774-1852) had been Professor of Chemistry at Columbia College, New York, from 1813 to 1820; from 1840 until his death he was Superintendent of Schools in Burlington.

[33] Samuel Allinson was a resident of Yardville, New Jersey, and a member of the Free Produce Association of Philadelphia.

7th Month 18. By steam boat to Flushing, Long Island, in time for their week day meeting and found a hospitable reception at the house of Samuel B Parsons where we propose remaining a few days.[34] Took tea with Edward Parsons and his sister Mary at the Bowne house, an ancient family residence in which George Fox and our early English preachers found a home on their religious journies.[35] The following is an extract from the records of the discipline of a former day in this province which I copy from the book itself and which deserves transcription.

"At our half years meeting on Long Island the 14th day of the 8 mo 1684 (words torn and not to be decyphered) of John Adams being laid before this meeting for their consideration advice and assistance for some speedy supply for part payment for a Negro man that he hath lately bought. The Meeting did appoint and desire John Bowne of Flushing & Wm. Richardson of West-Chester to take care in behalf of the meeting to procure a sum of money of some person on as cheap terms as they can for the supply of our friend, and the meeting doth promise and engage to reimburse and pay the said sum so procured".

One of the two Oaks under which Geo Fox preached to the people, near the Bowne house has been lately blown down: the other remains standing. Troubled this evening with a swarm of musquitoes. A storm in the night.

7th Month 19th. Pleasant temperature; thermometer down to 74°. Spent the evening at Wm. Thurston's pleasant residence on the East river, three miles from Flushing, with Samuel & Susan Parsons.

7th Month 20. Left by the Astoria road car and boat for New York and at 3 o'clock attended a large Committee meeting of the American & Foreign Anti Slavery Society in John Street: returned by steam boat to Flushing and finished the day at the house of James Parsons where we met a social party, amongst whom were Dr Cock and Saml Allinson.[36]

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[34] Samuel Bowne Parsons (1819-1906) was a horticulturalist and abolitionist, whose *The Rose* (1847) is a classic of horticulture.

[35] George Fox visited the Bowne House (built in 1661) in the year 1672.

[36] James Parsons, brother of Samuel Bowne Parsons, married Eliza

7th Month 21st. First Day. A silent meeting. As I sat, the door being open to admit air, I could see the numerous carriages of the Unitarian Friends driving up to their meeting house door, whilst we a smaller company were gathered in what was a school room. The thought of these things and of this desolating schism made me sorrowful. How can any body of professing christians prosper who deny the essential divinity of our blessed Lord, and the doctrine of his atonement? Called in the evening on Joshua and Rachel Kimber, who are both ministers in the Society, but the latter only an acknowledged or recorded one. They seemed to think that I ought to have spoken in the meeting for worship; but my real place was to be silent. Rachel Kimber nursed Joseph John Gurney through an illness of thirteen weeks at her own house and esteemed it a privilege to have so humble minded a man under her roof and care: she related to us a striking instance of his humility and patience whilst suffering under unmerited reproach.

7th Month 22nd. Took leave of Samuel & Susan Parsons, of the Bowne House, of the Flushing Oak under which George Fox preached and of the lovely spot where we had spent a few pleasant days in retirement, and returned to New York. In the afternoon we accompanied our dear friends G W & C A[37] to the "Empire State" steamer, bound for Boston and took leave of them on board the vessel, they setting off on their journey homeward to England; we remaining a while longer in the United States. It was somewhat sorrowful to part after eight months companionship in travel. After leaving them safe on board, I went with Mahlon Day across the East river to visit Samuel Squires and his family at Gowanus and returned through the handsome city of Brooklyn, by good streets two miles in continuance. The City hall is worthy of the times of Greece and Rome. These republicans are doing great things. O that they would put an end to Slavery and all its abominations!

7th Month 23rd. At New York preparing for our long journey to Indiana.

Cock in 1831; he died in 1894. Thomas Cock (1783-1869) was for years attending physician at the New York Hospital.

[37] George William Alexander (1802-1890) and his wife Catherine (1806-1878).

To the Far West

7th Month 24th. By Steam boat to Piermont on the river Hudson 24 miles and thence by railway through Middletown, Deposit & Binghampton, 223 miles, to Owego, in all 457 miles, passing through the extensive vale of the Delaware for nearly one third of the whole distance. The country abounds with corn and pasture fields; many of the towns and villages are either new or extending, and the scenery between the hills and on the sides of the rivers is often highly picturesque. The hill sides are in some places basaltic, and much of the original forest remains. The population is not dense, but apparently sufficient for its agriculture, as far as cultivation extends.

7th Month 25th. Detained at the rather poor town of Owego, six hours, waiting for the Eastern train from New York: left at one o'clock P M and passing along the banks of the Susquehanna for nearly fifty miles, reached Jefferson at the head of Lake Seneca to tea. The road from Elmira to Jefferson passes through a beautiful and very fertile country. At Jefferson we embarked on board the Steam boat on Seneca Lake for Geneva, a handsome town at the foot of the lake, which is enclosed by fertile hills open to the plough in many parts and graced with fields of wheat and maize. This fine sheet of water varies from one mile to two miles in breadth, and is forty miles long. This days journey was 93 miles.

7th Month 26th. Rose early and left Geneva by sun rise, performing the journey to Buffalo on Lake Erie, 126 miles by railway, in four hours and three quarters: passed through the large city of Rochester by the way. Dined at Buffalo, and thence to Niagara falls. This days journey, altogether, 150 miles.

To Canada West

7 Month 27th. Last evening and this morning we renewed our acquaintance with the wonderful scenery of the Falls, traversing the American side of the river towards the suspension bridge, and roaming through Goat island. Caught in a shower of rain, we took shelter in a large arbor near the island tower, and had some stirring conversation with John F. Porteous, a planter from Beaufort S Carolina, on the subject of slavery. He pleaded for it as a Christian institution: he was a professor of religion he said; and if

called upon to set his slaves at liberty, his conscience would not permit him to do so, as he was sure they would be less happy, when set free, than they are now. He reasoned with much good temper, and although opposed, as we were, both in argument and feeling, as far removed from each other as the east is from the west, we managed to part good friends. N.B. I am to send him a copy of our report on the West Indies, when published. In the afternoon we engaged a carriage and pair of horses to convey us to Pelham in Canada West. We passed over the suspension bridge, two miles below the Falls, getting out of the carriage to walk: the bridge is a dizzy height above the rushing waters, and seems of a very slight construction: it vibrates at every step, and is well calculated to excite alarm. It is believed, however, to be strong, and a similar wonder is about to be constructed over another part of the river below the whirlpool. We paid a dollar and a half for the liberty of passing over it. We were now on British ground, and passed through a fine district of well cultivated land, abounding in wheat and indian corn, amidst good farm houses, till we came to Thorold township, fifteen miles from the Falls, where we alighted at the house of John Hill, a minister of Pelham meeting, and were gladly received as guests. Our travelling companion A H Shotwell is a particular friend of the family. In the evening we took a drive to Pelham to call on my relatives John Brewster Oxley and his wife, and their mother and sister. Journeyed this day 19 miles.

7th Month 28th. First Day. Driven by George Hill to Pelham Meeting, at which about 80 or 90 friends were present, many of whom came in light waggons, some drawn by one horse, and others by two. The horses in this country are handsome well fed animals. There was much more of refinement among our rustic friends of this part of Canada than we had looked for. After dining at J B Oxley's where we had handsome entertainment, we repaired to Andrew Hill's to tea; but as Thomas Spencer was waiting there with a waggon and a pair of horses to convey me to the house of John Ray, near the river Welland, seven miles further on, I ventured to leave the company and went forward, as John Ray would have been greatly disappointed, if I had passed him by. He lives in a long house built by himself four years ago, and has now a good barn also, and other outbuildings, and

possesses a horse, three cows & many pigs! He gave $800 for the property and he has made it in four years worth, he says, $2000. His wife gave us a good supper of ham, bread and butter, custard, fruit, and tea, served up in a neat cleanly manner. J R has this year about 300 bushels of wheat taken off fifteen acres of land, and goes on clearing more land each year: his fences are good, and his finances flourishing.

To New York

7th Month 29th. George Hill drove us back to the falls. The finest view of this great cataract is on the British side, near the spot where the table rock fell: here we stood once again, after nine years, and looked with admiration at the falling waters: but I must not stop to expatiate: the scene is too great for description. We passed the river in a ferry boat, and landed on the American side, and in the afternoon proceeded to Buffalo. Our journey in Canada was about 50 miles. At 9 o'clock P M we took passage by the Saratogga [sic] steam boat on the great lake Erie.

To Ohio

7th Month 30th. Slept soundly in commodious cabins on board this floating palace, and awoke off the north coast of Pennsilvania [sic]; at noon we reached the city of Cleveland in Ohio, and continuing to coast the shores of Ohio, arrived at Sandusky at 5 o'clock. The distance from Buffalo to Sandusky is 250 miles. Such appalling accidents have happened on this lake from fire and shipwreck and so often, that the Steamers take out an abundance of life preservers. The cabin of the Saratogga is 200 feet long, and is furnished with chairs for at least a hundred guests: every one of these chairs is a life preserver! We have great reason to be thankful that we encountered no trouble on this magnificent sheet of water: the day was fine and the surface of the lake tranquil; and we enjoyed the excursion.

7th Month 31st Rose at 4 o'clock A M to prepare for our land journey. At ¼ past 5 left Sandusky by the railway car for Springfield in Ohio, distant 134 miles. Our course lay through a new country, lately laid open from the forest. Our speed was only 14 miles an hour, including stoppages, so that we could take a leis-

urely survey as we passed along. The first hundred miles took us through a tract of country so perfectly level that I could not discover the elevation of a single inch: parts of the road for miles together were through the original forest, where the woodman's axe had never entered except for the purpose of making the road: occasionally and at intervals wide tracts of open country disclosed themselves, covered with wheat and corn fields to the distance of some miles, and several new, large and rising towns. On this road may be traced the operations of agriculture, beginning with the log hut and the first cleared acre of ground, to the occupations of the large and thriving farmer, who has his two hundred acres under the plough and an abundance of green pasture. Wheat in Canada West sells for a dollar a bushel: in this part of Ohio it fetches on an average only 70 cents, and Indian corn from 25 to 40 cents. As we drew near to Belle-fontaine the country became a little more elevated and something more picturesque, but the whole distance from Sandusky to Springfield affords interest to the traveller: it exhibits alternate forest and glade, fine farming and fruitful open fields. Reached Springfield at 3 o'clock and remained there till the next day. A message is received by the Electic [sic] Telegraph that the Steam boat America caught fire on Lake Erie yesterday, about 50 miles from Buffalo, and was blown to pieces: six persons were killed, and the rest escaped. The America was the largest boat on the Sandusky line of steamers. The town of Springfield is beautifully situated at the foot of rising hills in what is called here a rolling country: the streets are good, and buildings are increasing. I walked to the new prison of Clark county, now in course of erection: the court house over it, when finished, will command a fine prospect. The wages of a laborer are here a dollar a day: a mason or bricklayer obtains a dollar and a half, and provisions are cheap! In Canada the yearly servant or laborer obtains $10 a month and his board and lodging: a day's wages for field labor are half a dollar and board: in harvest time as much as 6/. a day is offerred [sic] for field labor! Any small farmer in Canada or Ohio who can raise from 400 to 600 bushels of wheat with other grain in proportion, with only such help as his own family can afford him, is a thriving man. The land is his own: rates and taxes are low, and provisions are cheap. A farmer supports himself and his family off his own ground, he has meat,

fowls, fruit and vegetables in abundance, and can put his handsome plough horses into a light waggon on the First day of the week to convey his family to a place of worship. He has many conveniences and comforts which the small farmer in England has not; but then he must work hard to obtain them.

To Indiana

8th Month 1st. We journeyed this day by coach seventy miles from Springfield, Ohio to Richmond, Indiana: the roads were good throughout; our rate of travelling, stoppages included, was six miles an hour. The country was opened into farms nearly all the way: we saw many good wheat fields, some of which had the crops cut and left standing, ready to be carried; others were quite cleared, and the pigs turned in to glean them. The chief produce, however, of this region is Indian corn which covers the land to a surprising extent; it grows from six to eight feet high and yields a large return. The average price of wheat of late years, and at the present time, is 60 cents or 2.6 a bushel, and of Indian corn 25 cents or 12½ pr bushel. On the Wabash river in the North of Indiana, the last mentioned grain is sometimes sold as low as 18 cents or 9d. pr bushel. This part of Ohio and Indiana is an undulating country with small elevations and is watered by the river Miami: the soil is good and the produce abundant. From high points of land the country is extensively seen; the forests bound the horizon all around: the trees are larger than any we have hitherto seen, and all nature is pleasing to the eye. The log houses are good, and some of the larger farm houses are handsome: there seems to be good farming every where. Land is sometimes let by the owner to tenants on the share system, at a rent of one third of the produce, and pays him in this manner extremely well; but nobody should hire a farm who can afford to buy one. *Good* horses sell here for $15 each, Cows in calf at £3.10.0, Fat oxen at 2/. pr stone, Pork 1/9. pr stone. Pigs are very cheap. Much of slaughtered animals is here thrown away that would be prized by the poor in England as nourishing food.

8th Month 2nd. Hospitably entertained at Richmond, under the pleasant roof of Elijah and Naomi Coffin, sincere friends, and

true Quakers.[38] Two colored servants sat down with us this morning at the family reading of the Scriptures. E C took us a drive in and around the town of Richmond. Dined and took tea with Henry & Grace Dickenson, late of Sheffield, and met there an interesting company of Friends.[39]

8th Month 3rd. Made a call with E C on several of the colored inhabitants at their own houses, and then proceeded to the Friends Boarding school belonging to the Yearly Meeting of Indiana, where we attended the class of young men and heard some of them read their own compositions. Dined at the school; then drove to the farm house of Levi Jessup who gave me the following particulars of his farm. Area 110 acres, of which he has in Indian corn 15 acres, in Wheat 15 acres, in oats 6 acres, in pasture 24 acres and in Woodland 50 acres. The outgoings are Rates & Taxes $5.50, Repairs & tools $20, Hired service $20, Manure $5, Total $50.50. The income is from Wheat sold 300 bushels at 60 cents pr bushel $180, Hay sold $35, Wool $40, Total $255. The fields of Indian corn yield 60 bushels to the acre, making in all 900 bushels, the whole of which produce is consumed by the live stock on the farm. The cash income, outgoings deducted, is $200 1/2; which sum he can lay buy [sic] clear every year, as his family, consisting of nine persons, subsist on the produce of the farm, and the sheep, cattle and hogs sold afford him a sufficient sum for all their personal expenses of every kind. He drives a good family carriage and a pair of horses. Spent the evening at Charles Coffin's.

8th Month 4. First Day. The First Day school for young Friends mustered this morning 40 pupils, chiefly young men and young women, who were divided into four classes, with each of them a teacher. Portions of Scripture were read, and questions asked by the teachers. I was greatly pleased with the mode of instruction adopted, and cannot doubt its advantages. Elijah Coffin who is Clerk of the Indiana Yearly Meeting, taught one of the classes. The Meeting for worship began at eleven o'clock, and was

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[38] Few individuals are as closely identified with the Society in Indiana as Elijah Coffin (1798-1862), who was Clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting for thirty-two consecutive years: 1827-1859.

[39] Both Henry Dickinson (who went to New York in 1852 to enter the hardware business) and his wife were ministers.

attended by about 300 friends. The family of the Indiana boarding school hold a meeting by themselves at the school house, two miles distant: their number is about seventy. At 3 o'clock, accompanied by four of the ministers and elders of Richmond meeting, we went to the chapel of the Colored people and met about seventy colored persons, to whom I gave information in regard to the working of freedom in our West India colonies, and on the moral and religious condition of our emancipated people. Passed the evening at W^m^. Bell's[40]: we formed a company of thirteen English Friends.

8^th^ Month 5^th^. Set out this morning on a journey northward to the settlement of some of our Essex friends, in a car drawn by two horses, which carried also the mail bags. The road was through a lately settled part of Indiana, and where not impeded by mud and broad ribs of corduroy timber, was about as good as our country by-roads in England. With all our impediments by the way, including stoppages, we made a good four miles an hour, reaching *Muncie,* 45 miles from Richmond at 6 o'clock.

Incidents to be remembered on the journey. Quails, Killdeers, Wild and tame Turkeys. Hail storm, Trees blown down. Election day for State officers. Ballot box. Reading the state of the Poll at Muncie, the County town of Delaware.

8^th^ Month 6^th^. Left *Muncie* by the stage. On leaving the Tavern we observed a large company of loungers sitting on benches and chairs outside the house, occupied, as we supposed, in talking over the election of the day before. Among the company were a Judge of the district, and a town attorney. There is a large number of idle people in these country districts who take delight in loitering about, idling, sitting and talking. Mere idlers, who do but little for themselves, and who live as much as they can upon their neighbours, are called *loafers,* because they love to cut a slice from a neighbour's loaf: men who work sometimes, and idle away their hours at other times, and are ready to fight and make a noise, are called *rowdies*: but the mere idlers are a numerous class, especially in small country towns, when the business of the day is over.

[40] William Bell (1797-1871) came to the United States in 1842 from Ireland, where for five years he had edited the *Irish Friend.* He was especially occupied in the antislavery and temperance movements.

The road between Muncie and Wheeling was in many places deplorably bad, full of holes and corduroy ribs, and the country very flat, with much native forest: between Wheeling & Jonesborough [sic] the country improved, hill and dale intervened, and some good farming appeared. We met large droves of fine fat cattle on their way to the Eastern cities from the prairies of Illinois: the distance between the extreme points of travel to these poor beasts is at least 1000 miles; but they have plenty of grass to feed on by the way. Jonesborough has no notes on the latest maps of the United States: it had four houses six years ago, and has now several streets, and will become a large town. It is pleasantly situated, in a rolling country, on the banks of the Mississinewa river. A meeting house for Friends has been lately built, and about a hundred Friends and others are said to frequent it. Our evening ride from Jonesborough to Thomas Powell's in an open waggon was delightful to us. Here we are in a park like place, in a neat, cleanly cottage residence almost surrounded by the dense forest: there is a pathway across the wood to Sam[1] Radley's log cabin, and a road in part through the forest to where John Jesper Bull lives. Robert Corder has a farm of 80 acres adjoining, on which he is about to build a house: Sam[1] Radley has 40 acres and is about to do the same: many other "friends" live round about. The Friends Meeting house of Back Creek, built on the edge of the forest is less than two miles distant. A methodist Camp meeting was held last week near Muncie, and another is to be held near Jonesborough a day or two hence. *Incidents to be remembered.* Wild turkeys are sometimes shot in the coverts and fields. A bear passed through Thomas Powells farm last year. Bears and wolves still haunt the reservation lands, only five miles off. Fanny B [sic] Townsend the female lecturer. Rudeness of Friends children. Frequent mixed marriages. Neglect of the Holy Scriptures. Intellectual uncultivated wilderness.

8th Month 7th. Went out to look on the farming operations on lands lately opened from the forest. The crash of falling trees is a very enlivening sound, and so is the stroke of the woodman's axe. Prime fat beef is sold by the butcher at 1 ¼c pr pound: a fat sheep weighing 60 lbs sells for $1.25 or a penny pr pound. Butter fetches 3½c pr pound; good cheese 3½c pr pound;

apples and peaches may be had almost for the asking for them. Chickens fit for the table may be had from 2/6 to 4/. the dozen. What a land to live in! Thomas Powell shewed me a good heifer and her calf for which he had given only $6. Eggs are three halfpence a dozen! Many colored families are settled in this neighbourhood on land lately bought, but a strong prejudice exists against them among "Friends" as well as others. T F has 30 acres of cleared land, and 41 acres of Forest: he has a horse, five cows, a calf, seventy sheep, and pigs in plenty: his taxes are only $5 pr annum, and the land is his own.

8th Month 8th. Went to Back Creek week day meeting; about 140 friends attended: all the men were without coats except two of us, and many of them without waistcoats; it was preparation meeting, and the clerk performed his duties in a waistcoat with a crimson colored back. Nathan Morris preached us a good sermon in his shirt sleeves, inviting us with a strong voice and not an unmelodious tone, to come to the land of Beulah. The very young people are without shoes and stockings. There is a good day school at the Meeting house kept by W^m^ Neel, but the children, according to all accounts, are an untamed, undisciplined race. Dined and spent the day at Samuel Radley's in his log cabin. S R has two cows, two growing calves and five pigs; he has bought 40 acres of land, and is about to build himself a house.

8th Month 9th. Dined at J J Bull's and walked with him through the woods: there is a path from Samuel Radley's to his log cabin; the stranger is guided through it by what is here called a *blaze,* that is by trees marked by the cuttings of an axe, after the Indian fashion. Many huge trees laid burning on the partially cleared ground. Four of us tried our hands at the axe; two trees were cut down; the creaking and crashing of trees as they fall in the forest, and all the multifarious ways of forest life are deeply interesting to an Englishman who has never before witnessed the like. Called on David Stanfield near the Saw mill and on Nathan Morris at his fine farm. Met Seth Winslow as we returned home: he had a gun in his hand and had just shot a wild turkey for our dinner.

8th Month 10th Wrote letters home to this day inclusive. Dined at Tho^s^ Winslow's and took tea at his cousin Matthew Winslow's.

8th Month 11th First Day At Back Creek meeting; nearly 200 friends in attendance, and among them, it was thought, fourteen or fifteen mothers with infants in their arms, some of whom could not be kept quiet. After dinner at Thomas Powell's received calls from several friends, and among them, a very acceptable one from Nathan Morris.

8th Month 12th. Left our English Friends in this quarter to take the Richmond stage from Jonesboro, at which place we called on Obadiah Jones, the founder of the town, to whom, at his request, I promised a copy of our West India report, when published.

8th Month 13th Reached Richmond at ½ past 5 o'clock, after a hot ride of 45 miles from Muncie, and are again received hospitably at Elijah Coffin's.

8th Month 14th Richmond week day meeting, after which, at the request of Friends, I gave to the company assembled a statement of what we saw in the West Indies, as to the good fruits of emancipation. Dined with Richard & Susan Peddrich at their farm two miles in the country. The latter friend is a minister, a sweet spirited woman, and liberal in her views. R P drove us behind his fine young horses to the house of Benjamin Fulghum, a minister of Richmond meeting, to tea, where we met with Nathan Thomas of Newton, the friend who has lately travelled through the Slave states as an agent of the Free Produce Association in search of Free grown cotton.

To Ohio

8th Month 15th Took leave of our esteemed and hospitable friends E & N Coffin and their family and set out by coach for Cincinnatti. The first part of the journey, fourteen miles, was through Indiana: we then entered the state of Ohio: the roads were good, the country was laid pretty well open, and the farming not amiss, but the unceasing monotony of fields of Indian corn began to tire us. From Hamilton to Mount Pleasant, the land was what is called rolling, some of the hills being long, and the rate of travelling was consequently slow. The down hill drive for eight miles from Mt Pleasant to Cincinnatti gave us some fine prospects, at one point, almost magnificent: we entered the latter city—"the Queen city of the West" before sunset, passing through the ragged suburbs of

Brighton & Texas, and over the shocking pavement of the Western Row and some other outlying streets, which are anything but sweet and agreeable. Took up our quarters at the United States Hotel.

8th Month 16th Walked down to the Ohio river side and looked at the opposite shore of Kentucky, and the numerous Steam boats moored at the wharf. Dined at the house of Abram Taylor with several other friends, and in the afternoon were taken by Harrison Alderson in his light covered carriage to his delightful country residence, four miles from the city.[41] From the hill over which we passed we had a view of the city and neighbourhood, including the near hills of Kentucky. Cincinatti is composed chiefly of second rate houses, and is very inferior to the large towns of the East: it is a city of store keepers who are believed to be prosperous, but who neglect the pavement of their streets, and pay but little attention to cleanliness. The population is estimated at 100000. A great number of horses is kept, and hay sells in the winter as high as £4 pr ton. The city manure may be had for fetching it away, but the neighbouring farmers are so indifferent to it that large quantities of it are thrown over the bank of the river to be washed away in the floods.

8th Month 17th In the country enjoying rest and quiet.

8th Month 18th First Day. Perhaps 80 friends at meeting. Dined at Ephraim Morgan's: returned into the country to lodge.

To Kentucky, to Ohio

8th Month 19th. Took the ferry boat and crossed the Ohio to Newport in Kentucky to dine with Morris Shipley; crossed also the river Licking from Newport to Covington, a town of 15000 inhabitants, and called on W^m^ Orr, a presbyterian minister. Land in these towns sells very high, owing to their contiguity to Cin-

[41] Abraham Merritt Taylor was a successful tanner and leather-goods dealer who owned, in time, tanneries in Madison, Indiana and Louisville, Kentucky. One of his brothers was Joseph Wright Taylor (1810-1880), founder of Bryn Mawr College. Harrison Alderson was an English Quaker and minister who came to Cincinnati about 1848. He later moved to Burlington, New Jersey.

cinnatti. Very few slaves are kept in this part of Kentucky, owing to the great facilities of escape across the water to Ohio, in which city there are many persons always ready to counsel and assist the fugitives.

8th Month 20th. H Alderson came down with his carriage to Abram Taylor's where we are now staying, to take us a country ride to Mount Auburn and Clifton. In the latter village reside G & S Knight who have chosen a sweet spot for their residence: they have two sons in Cincinnatti and five sons in Canada: one daughter, the widow, at home with them, and two married daughters in the old country.[42] Took tea at the house of Ann Shipley, an old friend, ninety years of age, who has good health and a strong memory: she is a recorded minister of Cincinnatti meeting, and seems to be of a loving spirit. Incidents to be remembered. Thos Franklin's story of the Kentucky ruffians who dragged their victim through the public streets. The slave woman who escaped with her husband and children, eight of them in all. These events have occurred within the last six months. Cincinnatti a good city, regarded simply as a place of trade; the streets wretchedly mispaved. Pork chops sell in the Autumn, when hogs are slaughtered, at 2 cents pr pound, for five or six weeks together! The Burnet Lodging & boarding house, 360 persons sit down daily to dinner; the wages paid to servants in the establishment amount to £6000 a year!

8th Month 21st. Taken by Jacob Taylor to the country house of his brother Joseph Taylor to spend the day, and in the evening a moonlight ride along the banks of the Ohio. Incidents to be remembered. The Roman Catholic observatory; its fine panorama. Barney the Irishman and the squirrel. Height of Indian corn.

8th Month 22nd. Called on Ann Shipley; attended the week day meeting at Cincinnati; dined at Ab Taylor's, and then left this interesting family to begin our return journey to New York by the Columbus rail road. Our journey took us through the valley of the lesser Miami to Xenia, and thence to Columbus, the capital of the state of Ohio. Arrived at 10 o'clock P M.

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[42] George Henry Knight was received on certificate from Pool Monthly Meeting, England, in 1844.

8th Month 23rd. At *Columbus.* The population is 15000: its distance from Cincinnatti 120 miles; from Zanesville 54 miles: the cholera prevails and about 4000 of the inhabitants are supposed to have left the city. Flight seems of little avail, as several persons have been attacked with the epidemic in their new retreat, and have died. Joseph Ridgway Junr. retired to Mt Vernon to avoid the contagion, and died to day at noon! Last year there died of Cholera in the Penitentiary, in a single month, 117 prisoners: this year there has been no recurrence of the malady, and the Prison is quite healthy. Paid a visit to the Penitentiary, which contains 381 Male and 5 Female convicts: numerous manufactories are carried on in the prison: all hands are employed, and an immense deal of work is done. The earnings made by the prisoners last year were sufficient to pay all the current expenses of the establishment, and left a surplus of $3357.68, although the expenditure was very large owing to the ravages of Cholera, and for two or three months, but little work was done. Our next visit was to the Lunatic Asylum, a large and commodious building, containing ordinarily about 330 patients, the sexes about equal in number, but the Males preponderating. Dr. [Samuel Hanbury] Smith, the Medical Superintendent kindly conducted us through the numerous apartments. The galleries are broad and airy, and the lodging rooms good; the day rooms are also spacious and airy. The defects of this establishment are many. The attendants are too few, being only one attendant to about fourteen patients: the water closets are much too few and, as a consequence, are not kept neat and dry: there are no airing grounds for the patients, no garden or field work; and what is worst of all, the incurable, intractable and dirty maniacs are kept to their separate close apartments & cells without change or variety. It is true that this is a State establishment and for poor lunatics, but such defects as these ought to be remedied. The medical staff consists of a Superintendent, and two subordinate physicians, who all live in the house. The expenditure for 1849 was $31,570 for repairs, salaries and provisions. Incidents. Apple & peach orchards: water and musk melons by the waggon load: large melon at Cincinnatti 5 cents.

8th Month 24th. Travelled by stage coach 54 miles to Zanesville:

the first 30 miles of road were extremely monotonous; what little of wheat had been grown was harvested, and nothing was to be seen but Indian corn, pasture fields and the dense forest, except a few villages which were very poor places. On approaching Zanesville the country becomes *rolling,* that is, hilly, and affords some fine landscapes. Zanesville is a town of 5000 inhabitants, not much unlike Brentwood in Essex: here we rested at the Eagle Hotel. The Cholera prevails: five persons have died of it during the last 48 hours.

8th Month 25th First Day. We came here expecting to find a small meeting of Friends, but find it given up: the few "friends" that remained have joined some other denomination of christians. A gentleman from Michigan travelled with us to this place: his mother, he said, was an elder in the society, but he had left it and gone elsewhere in consequence of having associations of business beyond its pale.

8th Mo. 26th. On the road by Stage Coach, through a wooded hilly country, to St. Claireville in Belmont county, where we stopped for the night.

8th Mo. 27th. Called on Parker Askew, a tanner by trade, a sensible man and fluent talker, but full of prejudices in favor of John Wilbur and against New England and London Y Meetings: his plausibility in religious discourse might deceive many.[43] In him and his wife I obtained some knowledge of human character. In the afternoon we engaged a carriage and horses, and were driven by a very intelligent man to Mount Pleasant, ten miles from Claireville. The road was rough and the hills rugged, long and steep, but the day was fine and the views extensive and pleasing.

8th Month 28th. The Hicksite Yearly Meeting is now in session, and is held in the Meeting house belonging to Friends, and in which the Ohio Yearly meeting of Friends will be held next week. The number of Hicksites now assembled is computed at about

[43] John Wilbur (1774-1856) was an opponent of the evangelical movement championed by J. J. Gurney. He and his followers were called Wilburites, as opposed to the Gurneyites. The separation, initiated in New England in 1845, spread thereafter to New York and Ohio; even in Philadelphia Wilbur did not lack supporters.

500: the average attendance of Friends at their Yearly meeting is said to be 2000. Received a call from Geo Jenkins, a grandson of the late Jonathan Taylor who died in Ireland, who kindly came to claim us as his guests. We accepted his invitation. Incidents to be remembered. The Hicksite preacher and his informal certificate. Hicksite definitions of slavery. Jonathan Backhouse and his journey in the night from Steubenville. Oliver Johnson and Abby Kelly.[44]

8th Month 29th. As the Hicksites have present possession of the meeting house at Mount Pleasant, the Friends of that place cannot occupy it for their week day meeting, and consequently repair to Short Creek, where a meeting fell, in usual course, to day. We gladly repaired to it, and met there about a hundred of our fellow professors. There were present two ministers from Canada West, travelling by certificate; Johnson & Eliza Brewer [manuscript illegible] who both preached, the latter in a very earnest, edifying manner: her remarks on Love and the need of preserving it, as an essential of the Christian character, were touching and beautiful. Here was a woman from the back woods of Canada, subject, as all such women are, to continued domestic toil, and having very little leisure for reading and mental improvement, standing on Gospel ground, and preaching Gospel truths with power.[45] It is surprising how Religion informs and refines the mind, and gives even to the poor of this world, an elevation that neither colleges nor wealth can bestow. The school of Christ is the only school in which the human mind is raised to its right standard. After the meeting was over we went to David Updegraff's, whose house was near, and spent a pleasant day with him and his family, and his mother in law Ann Taylor, a minister, the widow of Jonathan Taylor who died whilst on religious service in Ireland twenty years ago.[46]

8th Month 30th. We are now sojourning as guests with George

[44] Oliver Johnson (1809-1889) was an editor with Garrison of the *Liberator*. Abigail Kelley (1810-1887) was an advocate of woman's rights and the abolition of slavery.

[45] Eliza Brewer (d. 1894), of Leeds Monthly Meeting in Upper Canada, was widely recognized as an able minister; she had a special concern for prison reform.

[46] David Updegraff (1789-1864) married Rebecca Taylor (1790-1867) in 1812.

and Sarah Jenkins, whose views and feelings on the state of our religious society, and on Anti Slavery and other benevolent objects, so much harmonise with our own, as to make their house a happy residence to us.

8th Mo. 31st. This morning the Select Yearly Meeting was held: the following strangers, travelling as ministers, attended by certificate, — Benjamin Seebohm and Robert Lindsay from England, Clarissa Griffin from New York, Nathan Hoag from New England, Benjamin Fulgham, Daniel Wood, and Cornelius Douglas from Indiana, Phebe Underhill from New York and Ann Bishop from New Jersey.[47]

9th Month 1st First Day. A large meeting for public worship, somewhat unsettled in the morning, but more quiet in the afternoon. The town of Mount Pleasant, from the influx of strangers had very much the appearance of a concourse gathered for amusement, large numbers loitering at the tavern doors.

9th Month 2nd. The Yearly meeting commenced: fourteen hundred friends present. A very painful sitting, owing to a spirit of disorder and ranterism under a cloak of sanctity, which was very prevalent.

9th Month 3rd. 4th & 5th. A continuance of the Yearly meeting, and an exhibition of much that was painful.

9th Month 6th. Trouble in the camp.

9th Month 7th. The meeting concluded. We dined at [blank in the manuscript] and spent the evening at David Updergraft's [sic], where we met with Nathan C Hoag, "an old disciple", and "a master in Israel". After supper and before retiring to rest, he and Rebecca Updergraft addressed us very encouragingly, and the latter offered up prayers on our behalf.

9th Month 8th. First Day. Attended Short Creek meeting. D & R Updergraft with their children and N C Hoag spent this the last

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[47] Quite widely known were Benjamin Seebohm (1798-1871), who wrote a classic biography of Stephen Grellet, and Robert Lindsay, who died in 1863 in Manchester, England, at the age of 62, after more than fifteen years of traveling in Ireland, Australia, South Africa, and other lands — including almost five years spent in the United States.

evening with us before we left Mount Pleasant and lodged where we lodged, at G & S Jenkins.

9th Month 9th. A parting religious opportunity: encouraging addresses, and solemn supplication by R T Updergraft; parted with all in love. Beautiful for situation is Mount Pleasant, and were all the Friends who live in the town, and around it, to dwell in love, as this family do, it would be a happy place indeed. Taken by Parvin Wright to Concord where we dined: took tea at his brother Charles Wright's, who conveyed us to Martinsville on the river Ohio to Joel Wood's to lodge.

To Virginia and Pennsylvania

9th Month 10th. Conveyed by C W over the beautiful suspension bridge that spans the Ohio to Wheeling in Virginia, where for $13 each we engaged a passage to Philadelphia, distant 410 miles, with liberty to stop, as we pleased, by the way. The first day's journey to Brownsville, Pennsilvania, by stage over a good road, through a hilly country, was performed in ten hours: the horses, the carriage, and the entertainment by the way were all good. Lodged at Doctor Stanley's.[48]

To Maryland

9th Month 11th. Pursued our journey over the Alleghany mountains to Cumberland in Maryland, performing 75 miles in 16 hours: the scenery at many points was beautiful and of great extent: much of the land on the road side was pasture, and flocks of sheep were feeding on the hills. This part of America is a lovely and delightful region.

9th Month 12th. By rail road—180 miles to Baltimore through parts of Maryland and Virginia, along the banks of the Potomac. The land on both sides of the river is either of an inferior description, or Slavery has deteriorated the soil: the corn crops are of stunted growth, and the grass lands very poor. Saw slaves at work in the fields as we passed along. The scenery in some parts of this

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[48] Abraham Stanley (1804-1856), a strong abolitionist and established physician of Bridgeport, Pennsylvania, was for years manager of the House of Refuge for Western Pennsylvania.

day's journey is bold and beautiful, being composed of river, rock, forest and cultivated fields. At Baltimore we called on D^r. Thomas and John & Margaret Cheston.

To Philadelphia

9^th Month 13^th. By rail car to Wilmington in Delaware, where we stopped and dined at the house of our good friend Samuel Hillis, and met there Geo Howland J^r. and his wife and son, who were on a visit to him.[49] In the afternoon took the Steam boat for the river Delaware and reached Philadelphia at ½ past 5 o'clock. We began our excursion on the Christine river, passed the mouth of the Brandywine, and entered the Delaware at a short distance from their junction.

9^th Month 14^th Once more, after a good night's rest at Philadelphia, under the hospitable roof of Josiah & Elizabeth White. Rode out to Frankford to visit the Friends Asylum for the Insane; dined with W^m. Birdsall, the Manager, and then went through the institution with the managing committee. The accommodations are superior to those of York Retreat in many points, but there are some defects. Water closets are needed, especially on the Female side of the house, and a padded room or two. Too many of the patients were under mechanical restraint of straps and gloves. The attendants are sufficient in number for a larger number of patients. The present number of patients is 23 men & 24 women. The Insane hospital at Trenton N Jersey, lately erected under the supervision of Dorothy Dix, has drawn away a number of patients who would otherwise have found their way to Frankford.[50]

9^th Month 15. First Day. In the morning at Arch Street. Sam^l Bettle preached.[51] In the afternoon at Twelfth St Meeting, silent. Spent the evening with Marmaduke & Sarah Cope and their family.[52] Paid a visit to Isaac Collins, who was ill in bed, and to

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[49] George Howland was to be mayor of New Bedford, Massachusetts, during the Civil War.

[50] Dorothea Lynde Dix (1802-1887), reformer of the treatment of the insane in institutions.

[51] Samuel Bettle, a Philadelphia merchant, who was Clerk of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting at the time of the Great Separation.

[52] Member of a leading family of merchants, Marmaduke Cope was

Abigail Shoemaker: a patient sufferer in her sick chamber.
9th Month 16th. Visited the House of Refuge and Day school for the indigent colored people. Towards the erection of its buildings, our host Josiah White gave $500, and he reserves $40000 for the establishment of Industrial Quaker Schools in Indiana and Iowa! Spent the evening with our friends the Nicholsons.

To Burlington

9th Mo. 17th. Left Philadelphia for Burlington: supped at Rowland Jones' where we met Eliz Lloyd Jr. the talented authoress of Milton's lament on his own blindness, lodged at W J Allinson's.[53]

9th Month 18th. Accompanied Rebecca Allinson on a second visit to the dying bed of a profane sinner, awakened at the eleventh hour to a sense of his sins, and of the need of a saviour. When we saw him yesterday he was in anguish of mind, calling on Jesus in the language of despair; to day the cloud of terror had passed away, and he was calm and thankful. The visits of R A had been evidently blessed to him. This poor man, a physician by profession, was brought, in the depths of his sorrow and remorse, to contrast his own dreadful condition with that of some of his patients, members of the Society of Friends, whom he had attended in their last moments, and who had died triumphantly: he mentioned them by name, and cried aloud for mercy to his own sinful soul. He referred also to a poor old black woman, who had been instrumental in bringing a brother of his own to a sense of his sins, and the need of repentance; and exclaimed, "May the blessing of Heaven rest on that poor old Ethiopian Gentile." It was a memorable and most instructive interview, not soon to be forgotten by me. The poor negress alluded [to] is living at Burlington and is supposed to be 104 years of age. Spent a long and happy morning with Stephen & Rebecca Grellett and their daughter, and dined at their house: took tea in the country with Richard and Abigail Mott, who have lived together as husband and wife 64 years, and are still in the vigor of their faculties: they are both of them "old

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widely known for his business acumen and philanthropy. He was also a member of the Free Produce Association of Philadelphia.

[53] Elizabeth Lloyd (1811-1896) of Philadelphia, is best known now as a close friend of John Greenleaf Whittier.

disciples" of a divine master, and are evidently ripening for a better world. Met at night a company of about 150 colored people in the colored methodist meeting house.

To New York

9th Month 19th. Attended the week day meeting at Burlington, and sat, at Stephen Grellett's earnest request, between Richard Mott and himself. I was concerned to address the assembly, and to pray vocally for these aged Christians, and to give thanks on their behalf. When the meeting broke up, S G took me by the hand, and said to me in a subdued voice "Be encouraged, John". Dined at W J Allinson's: and soon after left this fine christian family of the Allinsons in a flowing of love to them all. E Lloyd Junr. came to bid us farewell in the love of the Gospel; her countenance and manner, the index of a heavenly mind, were very sweet. Took the train for New York. *Incidents to be remembered* in connexion with Burlington. The old colored man Quomano, and his definition of the gift of God.[54] Rebecca Allinson's devotedness. Dr. Humphrey's dying experience. The week day meeting. Anecdotes of Rebecca Jones.[55]

9th Month 20th Engaged our passage to England by the Ship Northumberland of 1000 tons, Capt Lord Master, to sail on the

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[54] Quamino Buccau (1762-1850) was born a slave near Burlington, New Jersey. After the age of forty-four, he and his wife were emancipated by the son of his late master. His wife died in 1842 and he became blind. Such was the piety of this illiterate man that Quakers and members of other sects often visited him, though he adhered to Methodism. Candler called upon him with William Allinson and listed attentively as Quamino spoke of the consolations and comforts he had derived from the Gospel since he had "received the Gift." Candler, wishing to test his knowledge, affectionately took his hand and, leaning over him asked "And what is that GIFT, Quamino?" " 'Oh, sir,' exclaimed, or rather shouted the aged saint, *'it's unspeakable,* and FULL OF GLORY! It lightens all the mind within.' 'Ah,' said his visitor, aside, 'he understands all about it'." W. J. Allinson, *Memoir of Quamino Buccau* (Philadelphia, 1851), p. 27.

[55] Rebecca Jones (1739-1817), a convert from Anglicanism, became one of the leading ministers of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia. Endowed with a remarkable mind and imbued with deep evangelical fervor, she was renowned in America and England, and widely respected by all denominations.

23rd Inst. Spent an hour or two in Lewis Tappan's society at the American Anti Slavery Office.[56] Met company at our lodgings in the evening.

9th Month 21st. Busy in getting ready for our departure, and in calling on Friends. Spent the evening at David Sands', and feasted sumptuously at supper on oysters, hot and cold, on bread and cake, on peaches and melons.

9th Month 22nd First Day Went with Mahlon & Mary Day to a country meeting, West Chester, twelve miles from New York: met there about thirty Friends, and dined at the mansion of Wm and Charlotte Fox: seventeen melons were brought to the table for the dessert, and peaches in abundance! What a land of plenty is this! Reached home at 7 o'clock.

9th Month 23rd. Nathaniel Sands came from Cornwall to meet us, and his son David Sands brought out his light carriage, and took us for a drive of fourteen miles in and about the city of New York: he took us to the two large reservoirs of the Croton river, which supply the city with water; from the walls of one of them we had a panoramic view of the city and the island on which it stands, of the East & North rivers, and of Jersey city, Williamsburg & Brooklyn. We also visited a good institution called the Colored Home, in which 250 infirm colored people are provided with a refuge in sickness and old age. Many friends came in the evening to take leave of us.

9th Month 24th. Took what is probably a last farewell of New York, and of many kind friends there, and at ¼ past one o'clock, the Northumberland Packet weighed anchor, broke from its moorings, and towed out by the Ajax steamer, speedily bore us onward to Sandy Hook: here the Steamer left us, and here we parted with our dear friends Mahlon & Mary Day, who had come thus far to see us on our way. We are now alone: the wind is against us,

[56] Lewis Tappan and his brother Arthur Tappan were silk merchants and much involved in the antislavery movement. In 1840 they and others had withdrawn from the American Anti-Slavery Society, dominated by Garrison, and founded the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. They repudiated all extreme methods and maintained contact with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

and at ½ past 3 o'clock we are quietly at anchor near the Jersey coast. We continue to trust in that gracious Providence which has helped us all our life long, and commit ourselves and all that we have to his holy keeping. May the same divine power preserve and bless the dear friends we leave on the American continent, and our beloved relations and friends in England, whom we soon hope to see.

Quaker Research in Progress

The following list of current or recent studies in Quaker history continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. Information concerning other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 774 Millbrook Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Percy W. Bartlett, 185 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C. 1, England. Life of Barrow Cadbury, 1862-1958.

Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., Boardman Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Protestant Missionaries and American Indians, 1785-1862. (An exploration of the value systems presented to the Indians by the missionaries and their effect on the political development of various tribes; Friends' efforts are included, especially the work among the Senecas in New York.) Cornell University: thesis for Ph.D. degree.

Anna M. Black, Flora Dale, Biglerville, Pennsylvania. Adams County Quakers prior to 1800. (Completed)

Andrew M. Brink, 26 Elmcroft Avenue, London, N.W. 11, England. A Study in the Literature of Inward Experience (1630-1680), with Special Reference to Isaac and Mary Penington. University College, London: English, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

Tom Brown, II, 33 Pierce, Malden, Massachusetts. The Relation between the Mystical and the Ethical in the Quaker Spirit. (An examination of the reasons underlying the strong ethics of Quakerism and the relationship this has to worship.) Boston University: Systematic Theology. (Completed)

Mary C. Cadbury, 6138 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois. William Penn and the Schools of Colonial Pennsylvania. (Penn's background and theory of education, the first laws relating to education, and the first schools in Pennsylvania.) University of Chicago: Education, thesis for M.A. degree. (Completed)

Betsy Copping Corner, c/o Dr. G. W. Corner, Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, 66th Street and York Avenue, New York 21, N. Y., *and* Dr. Christopher Booth, Hammersmith Hospital, Du Cane Road, London, W. 12, England. Selected letters of Dr. John Fothergill.

Cecil B. Currey, Box 154, Residence Hall, Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, Kansas. Quaker Pacifism in Kansas. Fort Hays Kansas State College: History, thesis for M.A. degree.

Edna M. Hall, Maria Grey College, 300 St. Margaret's Road, Twickenham, Middlesex, England. The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Early Quakerism, with Special Reference to the Theology of Samuel Fisher. University of Birmingham: Theology, thesis for B.D. degree.

Arthur L. Hayward, Cherry Bounce, Jordans, Bucks, England. Short History of Jordans. (Completed)

Guy F. Hershberger, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. Pacifism and Politics in Provincial Pennsylvania. (A critical study of William Penn's Holy Experiment; an analysis of the theological, philosophical, and ethical issues in the application of Quaker principles to the operation of a political society; an evaluation of the experiment and its outcome.)

William W. Hustings, Box 2, Hancock, New Hampshire. A Memorial of the Freedmen's Normal Institute.

Leslie Johnston, Woolverstone Hall, near Ipswich, England. Study of Quaker Documents in the Rawlinson Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Alice Jaquette Lindell, 49 Prospect Avenue, Newark, Delaware. Quakers in Delaware. (Particular attention to early business prosperity, and activities in philanthropy, education, and abolition of slavery.) University of Delaware: History, thesis for M.A. degree.

Patrick C. Lipscomb, III, 2515 Pearl Street, Austin 5, Texas. The Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1783-1807. University of Texas: History, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

Patricia D. Odwell, 18, Ashfield Avenue, King's Heath, Birmingham 14, England. Some Social and Political Aspects of Quakerism in the Nineteenth Century. (Quakerism and liberalism; development of radical, i.e., socialistic, views; comparison of Quaker attitude towards society and that of other churches.) University of Birmingham: Faculty of Commerce and Social Science, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

Levinus K. Painter, Box 561, Collins, New York. Beginnings of Quakerism on the Niagara Frontier. (Largely confined to Quaker settlements in Erie County.)

Dietmar Rothermund, 5 South 38th Street, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania. Denominations and Political Behavior in Colonial Pennsylvania. (Interaction of religious and secular groups and leaders.) University of Pennsylvania: American Civilization, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

Harry B. Shufelt, 11805 Michel Sarrazin, Cartierville, Quebec, Canada. Nicholas Austin the Quaker and the Township of Bolton.

Richard E. Stagg, 7 Erskine Hill, London N.W. 1, England. The General Advices and Queries. (The development in London Yearly Meeting of these aspects of the discipline; change of content, method of using them, the background of interests in the Society.)

Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, *and* John Beverley Riggs, The Longwood Library, Kennett Square, Pennsylvania. The Journal of Elizabeth Webb. (An annotated edition of her recently discovered journal of travels in North America, 1697-1699, with an introduction.)

Julia Hull Winner, 23 Maplewood Drive, Gasport, New York. Early Settlements of Friends in Niagara County and Adjacent Western New York.

Grace S. Yaukey, 4400 Maple Avenue, Bethesda, Maryland. A Pictorial History of the Society of Friends in America.

Stanley A. Zielinski, Fulford, Quebec, Canada. The Story of the Farnham Meeting, 1793-1902.

Historical News

Friends Historical Association

The Annual Meeting was held on Eleventh Month 24, 1958 at Coulter Street Meetinghouse in Germantown. President Richmond P. Miller announced the retirement of Anna B. Hewitt, who had been Secretary of the Association from 1928 to 1944 and Assistant Editor of the BULLETIN since 1945 and of Susanna Smedley, Secretary of the Association since 1945. Warm tribute was paid to these two faithful officers. The President also announced the publication of John L. Nickalls' Presidential Address on "Some Quaker Portraits, Certain and Uncertain," delivered before the Friends' Historical Society in London. This publication is jointly sponsored by the Friends' Historical Society and Friends Historical Association.

At the conclusion of the business meeting, Joseph Haines Price addressed the Association on "Early Germantown History and Customs," illustrating his talk with examples of books and furniture. Harry M. Tinkcom, a member of the History Department of Temple University, and Margaret B. Tinkcom, Research Historian of the Philadelphia Historical Commission, then discussed in dialogue form "Ways and Means of Preserving Historically Important Areas in Our Country" with special reference to historic Germantown. Approximately 150 members and their friends attended the meeting.

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At its meeting on Tenth Month 2, 1958 the Board of Directors appointed Lyman W. Riley Assistant Editor of the BULLETIN. Lyman Riley has been responsible since 1949 for abstracting "Articles in Quaker Periodicals," a regular feature of this magazine; he has also prepared the last two quinquennial indexes to the BULLETIN.

Book Reviews

Patterns of Influence in Anglo-American Quakerism. By Thomas E. Drake. *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society,* Supplement No. 28. London: Friends' Historical Society. 1958, 16 pages. 1s. 6d.

Scanning centuries for reciprocal influences precludes the kind of close analysis Frederick Tolles undertook in 1952, when he limited himself to the first half century of the Quaker "Atlantic community." But Thomas Drake's Presidential Address before the Friends' Historical Society does suggest broad outlines for future investigation.

He is convincing but sketchy before 1828 and finds no basic change in relationships until 1776. He is sure where his research on *Quakers and Slavery* supports him; less sure on the origin and character of Western American Quakerism.

The essay suggests five reasons for the failure of traditional ways to raise a Gospel ministry and provide pastoral care: (1) the failure of the traveling ministry to cope with increased distances and shifting locations of meetings; (2) attenuation "by lack of formal education" (p. 11); (3) the Separation, ending universal correspondence, especially with the Quaker "capitals" of Philadelphia and London; (4) the spread of cheap printing, so that each branch read its own publications and no others'; and (5) the time-difference in Eastern and Western acceptance of contemporary European thought. The westward movement "explains" too little; rural-urban differences do not correspond enough to religious differences; points 1 and 2 are most controversial.

The author emphasizes nineteenth-century Anglo-American differences more than relationships. Did the Atlantic Quaker community survive the separations and the Great Revival? Can we say "that since William Penn's day English and American Quakerism have grown up side by side in a continuing community of Friends" (p. 15)? The trend shifted after 1890, but we are farther from being a community than in the colonial period.

The University of Vermont

T. D. Seymour Bassett

Some Quaker Portraits, Certain and Uncertain. By John Nickalls. *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society,* Supplement No. 29. London: Friends' Historical Society and Philadelphia: Friends Historical Association. 1958. 19 pages. 75 cents.

John L. Nickalls was named President of the Friends' Historical Society as he rounded out his long term of service as Librarian of the Library of the Society of Friends in England maintained by London Yearly

Meeting at Friends House on Euston Road. He has now retired from the care of over 50,000 books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and pictures bearing on Quakerism of the past and present. For his presidential address, delivered at London in Twelfth Month 1957, John Nickalls shared with his listeners the results of his researches into tradition versus truth in Quaker portraiture. This lecture has now been printed as another of the Supplements to the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society,* issued as a joint undertaking with the Friends Historical Association.

Happily it is illustrated with sixteen reproductions so that the reader may understand clearly John Nickalls' comments especially on the three early Friends James Nayler, George Fox, and William Penn. A careful consideration of the provenance of the familiar representations of this trio constitutes the major part of John Nickalls' study. The conclusion of the author is that "There must certainly be further evidence to be gathered; and no claim is made that these pages are the last word." Portraiture of early Friends remains a wide open field for historical discovery and research. John Nickalls maintains that until more certain evidence is uncovered, none of the likenesses of Nayler, Fox, and Penn that are now known may be classified as other than uncertain.

Overbrook, Philadelphia Richmond P. Miller

Hannah Penn and the Proprietorship of Pennsylvania. By Sophie Hutchinson Drinker. Philadelphia. Privately printed under the auspices of The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. 1958. iv, 207 pages. $4.50

This book makes available fifty-eight letters of a little-known but effective figure in American colonial history: Hannah Callowhill Penn, second wife of the Founder of Pennsylvania. The letters, selected from some 115 documents, cover the period from 1700 to 1726. They are given narrative continuity by a running text, by quotations from letters addressed to Hannah Penn by James Logan, Secretary of the Province, and by passages from pertinent letters written by other men in the government and members of Hannah's family.

The correspondence is filled with fascinating information: the growth of that bevy of small children that Penn left when he died, the liquidating of the mortgage that Quakers raised to extricate Penn from his involvement with the Fords, the continuing border dispute with Maryland, the strife amongst government men in the colony. Most important of all, the collection forms a documentary biography of Hannah Penn. Her letters reveal a stable, devoted, amiable, deeply moral, and capable person. She was a woman who in our own times could have held a high government post. That she displayed so much leadership and executive capacity three hundred years ago makes her all the more remarkable.

Hannah came from a rather ordinary background. When she married William Penn, he was already a prominent international figure and in his world of higher station her ability found both the stimulation and the

opportunity to flower. She and Penn were married for sixteen years before his health finally broke down and he became incompetent, and for the next six years she administered the Proprietorship without legal authorization, depending heavily upon the devoted James Logan. They were years filled with anguish and pressures, pointed up by the resentment and jealousy of William Penn, Jr., the Proprietor's son and heir by his first marriage.

Calmly Hannah accepted whatever destiny befell her, giving painstaking thought to affairs of both government and family. "Loving Friend," she wrote to James Logan about a year before her husband's death, "I have already written to thee by the new Governor [Sir William Keith], who by the character given of him we have accepted; and hope our family and the country in the end will reap the advantage. . . ." And later on in the same letter: "My poor Dearest's life is yet continued to us, but I know not how long that may be, for he is very weakly."

Upon William Penn's death in 1718 Hannah Penn became his sole executrix, and on that more solid footing guided Pennsylvania's destiny for another eight years. There can be no question that Governor Keith, James Logan, and other men in the Pennsylvania government took their direction from her. When Keith and Logan developed a serious difference, they both turned to her for its resolution, and in 1724 when Sir William Keith tried to assume too much personal authority he received from Hannah a letter some two thousand words in length, firm in its tone, and entirely clear in its meaning and understanding of the situation: "It has therefore been the more surprising to see thee," Hannah Penn wrote in part, "to be the first author of so dangerous an innovation, which entirely takes off the security, which the Proprietor ever had and absolutely required of his former Deputies, that nothing should be transacted by them with any Assembly, but with the joint concurrence and approbation of his friends in the Council. Therefore for remedy of this grievance, it is required: That thou advise with the Council upon every meeting and adjournment of the Assembly . . . that thou make no speech, nor send any written message to the Assembly, but what shall be first approved in Council."

Hannah's letters are so important and so revealing that I wish this volume contained all that are extant. It would be an even more useful book if it did. As it stands, it is not complete enough for the serious researcher. I wish too that Mrs. Drinker's efforts had had the further benefit of a professional publishing house. The label "privately printed" never helps a book. The facilities of an established publisher would have afforded *Hannah Penn* a more widespread distribution, and some minor errors in the explanatory text would probably have been queried in proof.

The compiler-author has produced a valuable book nonetheless, and she has expended a great deal of meticulous research on the task. She has given the unobtrusive Hannah a long-overdue opportunity to speak eloquently in her own behalf.

Brooklyn, New York CATHERINE OWENS PEARE

Lucretia Mott. By Otelia Cromwell. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1958. xiv, 241 pages. $5.75.

Here at last is a scholarly biography of Lucretia Mott. Of those which have come before, Friends know best the biography of *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters,* which was edited by their granddaughter Anna Davis Hallowell and published in 1884, only four years after Lucretia's death. This standard volume, full of family letters and family reminiscences, gave us the well-known portrait of the Nantucket and Philadelphia Quakeress and reformer whom an admirer of her own generation declared to be "the greatest American woman." In 1937 a popular biography took this characterization as its title, and in 1951 a fictionalized children's life of Lucretia Mott appeared, based largely, as was the 1937 volume, on the Hallowell material. This new, carefully documented life adds immeasurably to the detailed information previously available about Lucretia Mott's multitudinous activities. For Dr. Cromwell has examined every available public and private collection — Quaker, abolitionist, peace, women's rights, etc. — and culled from them a great variety of new material about Lucretia Mott's relations with the great reforms and reformers of the mid-nineteenth century. Documentary evidence for the earlier Nantucket, Boston, and Nine-Partners days remains quite scanty. But for the anti-slavery years and after, Miss Cromwell has found much to enrich if not to modify the picture we have had of Lucretia Mott.

We learn, for instance, of her interest in and connection with many of the fringe movements of the great age of reform. Her thoroughgoing liberalism took her into such extraordinary groups as the "Anti-Sabbath Convention" of 1848, which her associates in Garrisonian abolitionism organized to combat the tendency toward legally imposed sabbath observance then advocated by conservative evangelical churchmen. After the Civil War she joined in organizing the Free Religious Association and journeyed to Boston to be the only woman speaker on a platform with such religious radicals as Emerson, Robert Dale Owen, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Henry Blanchard, and Rabbi Isaac M. Wise. Her main interest, besides her family and her Quaker ministry and service, lay, of course, in freedom — freedom from slavery and from intemperance, freedom for women, and freedom from all self-constituted authorities which would fetter the human mind and spirit.

Many of the battles which Lucretia Mott fought have been won, and their story seems less dramatic now than perhaps it once did. But the problem of segregation recalls the problem of slavery, peace seems as far away as it did a hundred years ago, and we feel less certain of Lucretia Mott's confident assurance that if people were only allowed to think and act freely, they would therefore act righteously. The question too as to how far and how fast a reform idea may be pushed without itself causing violence found an answer but not a solution in the radical abolitionist agitation, which seems to have had some responsibility for bringing on the Civil War.

If it was true, as is said of Lucretia Mott and the John Brown affair (p. 169) that "any type of war was abhorrent to her, but she heartily accepted the principle that had led to the bloodshed," then our generation can admire her for her courage and for her devotion to what she felt to be right, but we must test by our own severest standards the means we choose to achieve good ends.

Haverford College Library THOMAS E. DRAKE

Make Free: The Story of the Underground Railroad. By William Breyfogle. Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1958. 287 pages. $4.50.

This is a popular book, not a scholarly monograph. A highly readable account of the Underground Railroad and some of its "heroes," it also includes a discussion of the background of the Civil War. Those who are interested in accurate history must ask the question: is this book going to enlighten its readers or simply offer them a number of oversimplified answers to the very complicated questions with which it purports to deal?

Like many accounts of the Underground Railroad, this one was written largely from abolition sources, and from only a limited few at that. In his sympathy for the antislavery crusaders the author has given little indication that there may have been more than one side to the arguments. In places the reader finds the description of "typical" incidents, admittedly based upon the use of "informed imagination" (p. 34). This is a device of fiction, not of sound historical writing.

In deliberately avoiding the academic approach to his subject the author has also overlooked the findings of numerous scholars. Recent monographs have emphasized the complexities involved in the pre-Civil War situation, yet *Make Free* pronounces quick and superficial judgments on some of the most controversial issues. Mr. Breyfogle fails to take into account the implications of the race question which complicated the abolition of slavery in the United States. He overemphasizes the importance of plantation slavery and hardly mentions the slaves who did not live on large plantations. He assures his readers that the Civil War was inevitable and that "what caused the Civil War was the issue of Negro slavery" (p. 235).

Even some professional historians assume today that objectivity is an undesirable as well as an impossible goal. Yet such highly biased and fallacious accounts as this are the end-products of that attitude. Such popular "histories" are all the more deplorable because they are read by so many who would never glance at a scholarly monograph. Writers of popular books have a special responsibility to be accurate and at least to familiarize themselves with the findings of the academic specialists.

Those seeking knowledge about the abolition movement or the Underground Railroad will find neither new light nor new information on the subject in *Make Free.*

Grove City College LARRY GARA

Phebe Anna Thorne, Quakeress. By Olive Floyd. Rye, New York: privately printed. 1958. xiii, 80 pages.

Phebe Anna Thorne, who was the last plain Friend in the Fifteenth Street Meeting, New York, is introduced to us in this biographical sketch as the "doer of untold kind deeds" for causes, institutions, and, particularly, individuals. She was the third of the eleven children of Jonathan and Lydia Thorne and the only daughter who lived to grow up. The rural neighborhood of Nine Partners Meeting, where she was born, was dear to her throughout her long life. Especially she loved fine animals — cows, horses, and dogs. Her father, a thriving merchant, moved to New York City when it was growing its fastest and all sorts of improvements were being tried. In the midst of its gay life his family had "a care to keep in plainness." They sided with Elias Hicks in the division which tore the Society of Friends apart in the 1820's.

Phebe Anna never married. After suffering a disappointment in her youth, she adopted the plain dress and devoted herself to her father's social concerns—education, equality of the sexes, manumission of slaves, the plight of the Indians, public health (both physical and mental), prison reform, and temperance. To these and other interests her father's affluence enabled her to be a substantial donor. In meeting matters her judgment was held in high regard and she more than once accompanied ministering Friends on religious visits. Swarthmore and Bryn Mawr Colleges received her largest benefactions. The Phebe Anna Thorne Model School (1913-1931) at Bryn Mawr has recently (1952) been resumed as a laboratory experiment in pre-school training.

Olive Floyd, the author of this sketch, first heard the name of Phebe Anna Thorne when she was a freshman at Bryn Mawr. It is clear from the book that she has enjoyed delving into Quaker archives, and, though not herself a Friend, depicting her subject in the Quaker cultural environment. A devoted nephew, Samuel Thorne, is responsible for the publication.

Pendle Hill

ANNA BRINTON

Friend of Life: The Biography of Rufus M. Jones. By Elizabeth Gray Vining. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1958. 347 pages. $6.00.

This biography of Rufus Jones is what his friends and all who loved him would want it to be. Rufus, the man, emerges from its pages. Rufus Jones as historian of Quakerism and mysticism, as a leader in the Society of Friends, as teacher, as chairman of the American Friends Service Committee, as philosopher, as editor, preacher, lecturer to innumerable audiences, and as writer of an endless list of articles and introductions to books both good and bad, receives adequate and detailed treatment. But most important of all, the character of Rufus Jones stands out clearly: his buoyancy, his ability to experience

vividly, the warmth and enthusiasm with which he met all persons, both friends and those not friendly. It might be suggested that there are too many quotations from persons who praised him, but there is no other valid way to express what he meant to so many. For example, John S. Hoyland wrote (p. 138): "To a whole generation of us he was a prophet and a saint and a shining light. We loved him and we venerated him. He was the leader of our lives. His writing was secondary. It was his personality, his outgoing love, his humor, his geniality, his luminousness. The Holy Spirit was in him to his finger tips. He made each one of us feel worth while and that he saw something in us and loved us individually."

But Rufus Jones the man who made so many of us feel more important than we really were is gone and we have left only his voluminous writings which, as John Hoyland rightly says, are "secondary." It is fortunate that we have in this biography so successful a description of what is essentially indescribable, a great personality.

Readers like the present reviewer, who knew Rufus Jones intimately for many years, are naturally most interested in those parts of the book which they can check by their own experience. I can find nothing to change and I marvel at the biographer's skill in describing with such extraordinary insight events in which she did not participate. The accounts might be criticized for being overloaded with detail. But the details are essential to complete the picture. Many who were impressed by Rufus Jones's "incurable optimism" did not know to what extent this optimism had been achieved by inner victories over illness and tragedy. When I visited him as he lay recovering from his serious accident in 1923, I found him on that particular day very low and despairing. But this biography fortunately completes the picture by speaking of "a welling up of life and energy akin to a mystical experience" at that very time.

Detailed as this biography is, Rufus Jones's life was so full that much had to be left out. One omitted event I remember particularly: his struggle before and during the Five Years Meeting of 1922 to retain a phrase, formulated in 1912, which declared that the Richmond Declaration of Faith is "not to be regarded as constituting a creed." He was defeated because fundamentalists are less yielding than liberals.

Rufus Jones's long succession of students will be especially interested in the chapter "Midwife to the Soul" which describes him as a teacher. Many professors of philosophy conceal their own opinions. They present to their students a confusing medley of philosophies among which it is unnecessary to choose because they are abstract and have little relation to life as we live it. Rufus never hesitated to express his own convictions, convictions which he endeavored to live up to himself and which could form a real guide to life. In the Orient a philosopher is accepted insofar as he lives up to his philosophy and trains his students to live up to it. In the West students are seldom concerned with the relation between the life of a professional philosopher and his philosophy.

This biography contains careful and useful outlines of Rufus Jones's most important books. These reviews are sympathetic but not uncritical. Elizabeth Vining does not hesitate to quote writers who disagreed with him and even writings in which he disagreed with himself. Once he called me out of a class at Haverford and asked me to review *Social Law in the Spiritual World*. When I read him my effort, he made no other criticism than to say that I spoke with too strong a Philadelphia accent. But I realized then and still more when I was a student at Harvard, toward the end of that same Golden Age of philosophy which Rufus had known earlier and which Elizabeth Vining describes so accurately, that it is difficult to reconcile mysticism with the neo-Hegelian philosophy of Royce and Palmer, which influenced Rufus Jones so strongly at this time. If, as this philosophy holds, every experience has beyond and around it a "More" by which it is given meaning, then God, the final goal sought by the mystic, can never be reached by experience. The ancient problem at the basis of most theological controversies—how can we think of God as both immanent and transcendent, finite and infinite, human and divine, within and beyond — was never fully solved by Rufus Jones on an intellectual basis. He was not a system-builder but rather a thinker of the prophetic type, like Paul and Fox, who depended on flashes of insight regardless of occasional inconsistencies. His central message—that religion should be based on a "first-hand experience of God"—is simple enough to be understood and accepted without a metaphysical basis.

The same paradox confronts us in Rufus Jones' interpretation of Quakerism. He generally repudiates the dualism and quietism of so many of the Quaker leaders but sometimes he seems to accept them. His mysticism, as Elizabeth Vining so well points out, was derived, not from the Catholic mystics of the Middle Ages whom he loved and admired, but from the Quakers. Quaker mysticism involved no loss of the self in an infinite Whole but, as Rufus Jones often said, the enhancement and development of the self as an instrument of the divine purpose.

It is not surprising that Rufus Jones and the Wilburite majority of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) at first looked askance at each other. To Rufus these Friends seemed sunk in tradition and quietism; to them he seemed devoted to "creaturely activity" and the search for religious truth through the intellect. But, as he once remarked, "I was teaching their sons." This fact and the convulsion of the first World War brought Rufus Jones and the Yearly Meeting together, but the victory was mainly with Haverford College and 20 South 12th Street rather than with Arch Street.

Modern neo-Calvinist tendencies in theology have influenced some Quakers today to become critical of Rufus Jones's liberal theology. These current views emphasize the Hebraic concept of God as a Person who does things for helpless man rather than the Greek concept of God as pure Being, above history, yet immanent in man. But Rufus Jones was on both sides of this dichotomy. No one has more fully held the belief that God

is the Way as well as the Truth, present in the imperfect as well as the perfect. His "affirmative mysticism" emphasized action, but he sometimes placed service as an end secondary to "the values which are good in themselves, beauty, love, goodness, truth" (p. 206).

This book will not only be a valuable means to an understanding of the life and works of Rufus Jones himself but also to an understanding of Quaker history during the past half century in which he was an important, probably the most important, participant.

Pendle Hill.

HOWARD H. BRINTON

Briefer Notices

By HENRY J. CADBURY

In *The Paxton Papers,* edited with an introduction by John R. Dunbar (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957, 396 pages), are reprinted some twenty-eight items issued in 1764 in connection with the controversial period of Indian-White troubles in Quaker Pennsylvania. The setting is described fully in the introduction of fifty pages. Many of the pamphlets are strongly anti-Quaker or pro-Quaker.

* * *

The place of women in early Quakerism and also in contemporary non-conformity is discussed in a well-documented article by Keith Thomas on "Women and the Civil War Sects," *Past and Present,* No. 13, April 1958, pp. 42-62. The relative religious emancipation of women by these sects has, according to the writer, been of secular benefit both to women and to the family.

* * *

An eight-page illustrated pamphlet was issued without imprint in connection with the local meetinghouse's sesquicentennial on June 14, 1958. It is called "Byberry Friends their Meeting, and the School, Library, Philosophical Society." The Quaker settlements at Byberry, Pennsylvania, were made by British immigrants about 1680. It is hardly necessary to explain that the Philosophical Society, founded in 1829, dealt with natural philosophy in its many branches.

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"The *Welcome's* Journey" by George P. Orr is from an address commemorating the 275th anniversary of the arrival of William Penn. *(Germantown Crier,* X, No. 2 [May 1958] pp. 9-10, 20).

* * *

Don Yoder contributes a scholarly introduction to Alfred L. Shoemaker's *Christmas in Pennsylvania: A Folk-Cultural Study* (Kutztown, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Folklore Society, 1959, illustrated, 116 pages). He gives special attention to "The Quakers and the Day Called Christmas" (pp. 8-11). From a survey of Quaker attitudes as reflected chiefly in the periodical press, he concludes: "That the Quakers were originally anti-Christmas but eventually succumbed to a modified attention to Christmas at least as a family festival, is plain from the records."

* * *

One of the "potent sires" in Paul Bloomfield's *Uncommon People: A Study of England's Elite* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1955, 219 pages) is Robert Barclay, the Apologist. The book like the essay of N. G. Annan

mentioned in this BULLETIN (XLVII:120) deals with the tendency for distinction to recur in families "whose influence is out of all proportion to their numbers." The volume deals with Gurneys, Buxtons, Hoares, and other connected families up to the present time.

* * *

The minutes of the meetings of the Quaker midwives in Barbados in 1677, 1678, 1679, published in the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society,* XXXVIII (1940), 22-24, are republished in the *Journal* of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society, XXIV (1957), 133-134.

* * *

G. S. Snyderman has given an extended account of "The Manuscript Collections of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends pertaining to the American Indian" in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* Vol. CII, (December 1958), 613-620. This is much more than an archival calendar of the Committee minutes and reports, the diaries, letters, correspondence with Indians, etc., in the vaults of the Department of Records at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, going back to 1735 and including the files of minutes of the Friendly Association (1756 on) and of the Indian Committee (1796 to date). It sketches in also the background of the political conditions, economic and cultural issues, etc., and gives an important perspective to the history of the Quaker school at Tunesassa and to the problem of adjustment to the Seneca Indians and to white civilization.

* * *

Pennsylvania Folklife, Vol. IX, No. 2 (Spring 1958), 34-37, has a brief article by Howard H. Brinton on "Quaker Meeting-Houses." It deals with the log and stone structures which succeeded in the colonial period the meetings first held in the houses of Quaker settlers in southeastern Pennsylvania. It is richly illustrated with five half-page pictures of typical meetinghouses.

* * *

Rufus Jones and the Far East by Elizabeth Gray Vining was the 1958 Annual Quaker Lecture of High Point Monthly Meeting of Friends (High Point, North Carolina, 16 pages). It is a by-product, not a repetition, of her recent biography. Rufus Jones visited the Orient in 1926, 1932, and 1938. Of the first visit he left a full journal (not published). From this and other sources, written and oral, we are given not only a narrative but a sensitive account of the problem of spiritual contact with Oriental thought and religion.

* * *

A very full account of a local Quaker community is Kenneth L. Carroll's article "Talbot County Quakerism in the Colonial Period" in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* LIII (1958), 326-370. It is based with much detail on the minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting, now at the Hall of Records, Annapolis. It deals with the several meetings (Bayside, Choptank, Tuckahoe, and Tredhaven), meetinghouses, and burial grounds,

with the matters which led to Quaker sufferings from the authorities or to internal criticism or disownment, to social service to their members, or to Negroes, free or slave, etc. There were important visits on concern by Talbot County Friends and to them. A more comprehensive and well-ordered summary of a local chapter of American Quakerism would be hard to find.

* * *

Some charming reminiscences of a late Quaker author, written largely by surviving Hodgkin relatives or taken from her own diary will be found in *Lucy Violet Holdsworth: A Patchwork of Love and Memory* (privately printed, obtainable from Messrs. John Bellows, Ltd., Eastgate, Gloucester, England, 1956, 88 pages).

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In the survey of religions, *Die Menschheit Betet: Praktiken der Meditation in der Welt* by Wladimir Lindenberg (Munich: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag, 1956) the last chapter (pp. 218-228) is on *"Das innere Licht—die Quäker."*

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Persons still living who can report interviews with the poet Whittier must be few. William Stetson Merrill gives one of the latest and shortest, "We Talked with Whittier," *Essex Institute Historical Collections,* XCIV (1958), 156-157.

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The "Quaker Records" dealt with in the *Journal* of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society, XXI (1953), 26-28, are the wills of Richard Settle (d. 1670), his widow Frances, formerly Frances Taylor (d. about 1679), and her son Robert Taylor (d. 1680). The bequests of the men to Quaker purposes in England and Barbados are of interest, as is the detailed inventory of the testatrix' property. Cf. ibid., XXIV (1956), 115, 116.

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Charges to the Grand Jury, 1660-1677, by Sir Peter Leicester, ed. by E. M. Halerow, Chetham Society, Third Series, V (1953) is a useful background for the study of Quaker persecution in the period in England. Here are the careful statements of a learned jurist in which he explains the rationale of matters known to Friends only from the receiving end. There is a reasoned criticism (p. 76 f.) of William Penn's *England's Present Interest Discovered* (1675).

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When Judge Thomas Fell of Swarthmoor Hall, died on October 8, 1658, he left by will £30 to found a school in Ulverston. This was opened almost at once and was discontinued in 1897. It was called the Town Bank Grammar School. In connection with the 300th anniversary of its founding *The News* of Barrow-in-Furness (October 5, 1958) published articles on its history and on Thomas Fell, the latter appropriately by Isabel Ross.

The United Church Herald is the title of a biweekly paper representing the fusion of two earlier fused denominations, the Congregational Christian Churches and the Evangelical and Reformed Church. In its first issue, Vol. I, No. 1 (October 9, 1958), Frederick M. Meek contributes an article on his hobby of "collecting" John Greenleaf Whittier. Among the illustrations is the "never-before reproduced etching by Closson" that was missing for sixty-six years.

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The Barchem movement in Holland has strong Quaker roots, having grown up a half-century ago out of Woodbrooke or old Woodbrookers in that country. Therefore *Geschiedenis van de Barchem-Beweging MCMVIII–MCMLVIII* by Professor J. Lindeboom (n.p.: privately printed, Barchem-beweging, 1958, 287 pages, but no index) deserves mention in this place.

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No. 2 among the seven preparatory documents for the Conference on Industry and the Social Order held in London in November 1958 is a condensed eight-page historical survey or "note" on Friends and the industrial and social order, very inclusive and up-to-date (Friends House, London).

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An article entitled "The Ironmasters of Coalbrookdale: Founders of the Industry" by Edwin Morrisby was published in the *Manchester Guardian* for November 4, 1958. It retells the story of the Quaker Darbys and their pioneer work over the last 250 years, and of the current archaeological excavations to uncover some of the earliest workings.

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Four papers read at a sesquicentennial symposium at Moravian College in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, dealt with the influence or contributions with respect of higher education in colonial America of each of the groups, Moravian, Puritan, Quaker, and Anglican. They are now printed in *Pennsylvania History* for July 1958. That on the Quaker Contribution to Education in Colonial America is by Howard H. Brinton (XXV, 234-250). In spite of the absence of Quaker colleges in the period, the author is able to show that Friends promoted higher education privately and in their schools for children and in a great variety of ways.

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An intimate day-by-day picture of Quaker life in Philadelphia during the early years of the American Revolution is provided by the publication in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* LXXXII (1958), 411-465, of part of "A Diary of Trifling Occurrences" written by Sarah Fisher (daughter of William Logan and wife of Thomas Fisher). Carefully edited and transcribed by Nicholas B. Wainwright, the section published extends from November 30, 1776, to June 18, 1778, when the Americans re-entered the city, thus including the period of her husband's Virginia exile.

Articles in Quaker Periodicals

By LYMAN W. RILEY

The American Friend

The merging of Nebraska Central College, Central City, Nebraska, with William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, is the occasion for a brief review of the history of Nebraska Central, mentioning some of its benefactors, teachers, and alumni. The article is contributed by J. Evelynn Schutz.—Oct. 30, 1958, pp. 343-344.

From the *Journal of Negro History,* January 1947, there is reprinted a letter from a Philadelphia Friend, Joseph Drinker, pleading for more racial justice on the part of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.—Dec. 11, 1958, p. 396.

The Friend

Ruth G. Burtt gives a "Salute to Our Ancestors," which, unexpectedly, is a tribute to their artistic tastes. The article is a description of the household possessions of four Quaker families of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.—August 22, 1958, pp. 1062-1063.

"The Lake Poets and Their Circle: Friendships Among Quakers" by Elsie Whitehurst describes briefly the relationships between Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Lamb and Friends Thomas Wilkinson, Charles and Robert Lloyd, the Savoury family of Pentonville, and Bernard Barton; also, Catherine Clarkson (wife of Thomas), not a Friend but closely associated with the Society.—August 22, 1958, pp. 1070-1072.

For Beatrice Saxon Snell "A Buried Treasure" is a letter of Benjamin Cole of Reading, written from prison in 1675 to a minister in Reading. She quotes extensively from the letter, which defends the Quaker faith against its detractors and persecutors.—August 29, 1958, pp. 1101-1102.

Friends Journal

Letter from the Past No. 172 is called "Frustration in Site Seeking." It gives references to sources in a long controversy over the identification of John Woolman's two houses in Mt. Holly, N. J. and prints in full a newspaper item of 1883 which reports the burning of one of them in that year. It concludes, however, that the identification still "adds up to a big question mark."—June 28, 1958, pp. 411-412.

A full note on the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the building of Byberry Meetinghouse, Philadelphia, contains much information about the Meeting's history.—June 28, 1958, pp. 413-414.

Louise Osgood Koopman writes delightful anecdotes of her "Visits to Whittier and Amesbury Meeting" in the early 1870's.—July 12, 1958, pp. 427-428.

A note on Paul Cuffee (1759-1817) by Zephaniah W. Pease is an excerpt from a pamphlet on Dartmouth, Mass., history published in 1932. —July 12, 1958, p. 429.

Two of the greatest figures in English history, one in politics, the other in religion, happened to be contemporaries and met each other several times. Letter from the Past No. 174 comments on Oliver Cromwell and George Fox, and suggests that Friends need a new and somewhat more sympathetic understanding of Cromwell.—November 8, 1958, pp. 646-647.

The Friends' Quarterly

Robert C. Taylor writes of his great-great-grandfather, Henry Taylor (1737-1821), "A Quaker Seaman," describing some of his exciting adventures at sea and his determined efforts to have certain lights placed at danger spots along the coast of England. The article is based on Captain Taylor's *Memoirs,* published in 1811.—October 1958, pp. 170-176.

Journal of the Friends' Historical Society

In "James Nayler's 'Last Words' " Ormerod Greenwood presents evidence from pamphlets printed in 1660 which tends to show that the famous deathbed utterances were actually Nayler's, and that the longer version, based on a 1678 publication by Robert Rich, is the more likely one.—48 (1958), 199-203.

Roger Thomas describes seven "Letters of William Penn and Richard Baxter," two of them unpublished. The letters were written in 1675 and refer to a debate between the two on October 5 of that year. Another letter is cited to point to the possibility of a meeting between the two during 1674.—48 (1958), 204-207.

Isabel Ross writes of "A Newly-Found Quaker Friend of Wordsworth: William Bennett (1804-73)." She quotes from a manuscript by Bennett that tells of visits made to Wordsworth in 1846. It not only describes the poet's appearance and manner, but also records his comments on the Society of Friends.—48 (1958), 209-212.

Publication of the "A. R. Barclay MSS." continues with nine letters written to George Fox between 1674 and 1690. Writers are Thomas Salthouse, Gilbert Molleson, John Raunce, John Rous, Robert Barrow, John Blaykling, Peter Hendricks, and the Leicestershire and Warwickshire Women's Meeting, the last signed by thirteen Friends.—48 (1958), 215-228.